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BY

THE CHEVALIER ARTAUD DE MONTOR



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THE LIVES AND TIMES
OF THE POPES

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THE LIVES AND TIMES OF THE POPES

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BLESSED BENEDICT XI—A.D. 1303

BLESSED BENEDICT XI was born in 1240, at Trevisa, and his original name was Nicholas Bonasio Bonasini. He is said to have been the son of a notary.

In his early youth Nicholas went to Florence, and, being almost without resources, he became preceptor to the children of a knight of the Quirini family. He subsequently took the Dominican habit (he was the second pontiff of that order), steadfastly devoted himself to study during fourteen years, and became reader and general of the order. In the second year of his generalship, notwithstanding his opposition, he was created cardinal of Saint Sabina by Boniface VIII. Having become Bishop of Ostia and Velletri, he stood firmly by the pope during the day of the terrible assault on Anagni, standing unmoved on the right hand of the pontiff and gazing upon him with admiration. The pope deemed him qualified for affairs and gave him many marks of confidence.

As it was settled that all usurpations were amenable to Rome, the pope sent Nicholas, as his legate, into Hungary

to oppose the civil wars. A part of that country had elected, as king, Charles, son of Charles Martel and nephew of Charles II, King of Naples. Another faction elected Wenceslas, son of the King of Bohemia.

Boniface having died in the Vatican Palace, the law of Gregory X, confirmed by Boniface, was observed. The funeral ceremonies were celebrated during nine days (the same custom still obtains), and then the Mass of the Holy Ghost was sung. The sacred electors met on the 21st of October, 1303, and on the following day Nicholas was unanimously elected pope on the first ballot.

He represented to the cardinals that he was not worthy of that honor, but his objections were repelled, and he accepted the tiara.

Nicholas took the name of Benedict, the baptismal name of his benefactor, Boniface VIII, and he was crowned on the 27th of October by Napoleon Orsini, first of the order of deacons.

Frederic, King of Sicily, not having paid this year the accustomed tribute of three thousand ounces of gold, the pope declared that prince threatened with excommunication, and his kingdom was laid under interdict. But Frederic having protested and given satisfactory explanations, the pope immediately reconciled him with the Church. The pope then issued a bull of excommunication against those who had stolen the treasure of Boniface VIII.

In 1304 Benedict, whose disposition was gentle and full of placability, restored to his good graces James Colonna, and Peter, his nephew, who had asked his pardon. Their property was restored to them at the same time.

Philip the Fair desired to be absolved from the censures that he had incurred. A bull of the 2d of April, 1304, granted him entire absolution. On that subject Benedict said: "The

guilty are so numerous! Where the multitude sins, rigor must be moderated." He wrote to Philip, and in his letter he made no mention of the censure, the interdict, or the excommunication. He simply resumed a friendly correspondence as though it had never been interrupted.

Sciarra Colonna and Nogaret persisted in their rebellion, and their excommunication was continued.

War ravaged Tuscany; the Guelphs and the Ghibellines, the Whites and the Blacks, all the parties that Dante so eloquently describes, declared a Carthaginian hate against each other. Benedict sent to them a Dominican cardinal, Nicholas di Prato; but he was obliged to issue an interdict against the Guelphs and the Blacks, and the inhabitants of Lucca and Prato.

The ambassadors of James of Aragon swore faith and did homage for the kingdoms of Corsica and Sardinia, which James had received in fief from the Holy See, in virtue of a diploma of Boniface, dated on the 3d of April, 1297. Frederic, King of Sicily, also swore faith and homage for that kingdom. Boniface had given it to him by naming him King of Trinacria. Sicily was anciently called Trinacria on account of the three promontories which terminate it. Trinacria comes from the Greek words *tria* and *ákra*; the letter "n" is added for the sake of euphony.

While the Holy Father continued his apostolical labors in the convent of the Dominicans of Perugia, he was presented with some figs, of which he was very fond. They were brought by a young man disguised as a woman, who was supposed to come from the nuns of Saint Petronilla. The fruit was poisoned. No doubt the senders were enemies of Benedict, and perhaps to the Holy See. The consequences of so dastardly and horrible a crime remain to be seen.

The pope died shortly after eating the fruit. He had

governed the Church one year, eight months, and a few days.

Benedict was at once holy and learned. He would not make his nephew a cardinal, though deserving of the honor. Moreover, his mother was one day presented to him, sumptuously dressed. He pretended not to recognize her, and said: "This person cannot be our mother, for our mother is poor and cannot dress in silks." She returned more humbly dressed, and was received with the most lively tokens of love and tenderness. This pontiff was beatified by Benedict XIV.

The Roman pontificate was vacant ten months and twenty-eight days, because the cardinals in the conclave of Perugia were divided into two parties.

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CLEMENT V—A.D. 1305

CLEMENT V, known previously as Bertrand de Got, was born at Villandraut, in the diocese of Bordeaux. His father was a knight of the first nobility of the country. Bertrand de Got, having been made Bishop of Comminges in 1295, was promoted to the archbishopric of Bordeaux in 1299.

The conclave assembled after the death of Benedict had already lasted nearly ten months, when the heads of the two parties adopted a measure which they believed calculated to put an end to the uncertainty. The Colonnas, persecuted by Boniface VIII, were interested in making an election that would be acceptable to France, and they proposed to the Orsini to make their own selection of three candidates, from



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among whom the opposite party should definitely select a pope. The Orsini named those candidates, among whom was Bertrand de Got, upon whom they thought they could rely most, because he was opposed to the King of France, who had greatly wronged the archbishop's family. Mention is made of a courier sent to the king, and of advice given to that prince to ingratiate himself beforehand with Bertrand de Got. Six conditions are stated to have been imposed by the king and accepted by Bertrand. Those anecdotes are given on the authority of Villani, the Florentine author, much interested in decrying the French popes, but whose statements later writers have copied without much examination. Fleury remarks that the decree of election mentions none of the facts stated by that author.

On the whole, it seems to be proven that the cardinals, being divided into two nearly equal factions, and being unable to agree upon a candidate among themselves, preferred to make choice of a foreigner.

When Bertrand de Got accepted the tiara, he set out for Lyons, at the end of August, and was crowned on the 14th of November, in the Church of Saint Juste, that hospitable church which was nobly generous to Gregory X at the time of the council of the year 1275.

Cardinal Theodoric Ranieri had himself brought from Rome the papal crown which was placed on the head of Bertrand, who was recognized as pope under the name of Clement V.

The ceremony was very brilliant. King James of Aragon was present, as was also the King of France, accompanied by Charles of Valois, and Louis, Count of Evreux, his brothers, and John, Duke of Brittany. During the ceremony of the cavalcade, which took place in imitation of the Roman custom, an accident occurred. A wall fell down, and the

pope's horse took fright. Clement fell, the tiara rolled upon the ground, and a ruby of great value was detached from it, and vainly searched for after the accident. John of Brittany, who held the bridle of the pope's horse, was knocked down and perished during the tumult. The king and his brothers were themselves wounded.

On the 15th of December the pope made a promotion of cardinals; nine were French, the tenth an Englishman; among the nine French cardinals, one was his nephew and three were his relations.

Clement, who had not as yet manifested any choice as to his place of residence, seeing that Italy was a prey to the factions of the Guelphs and Ghibellines, declared that he established the Pontifical See in the city of Avignon; and he appointed three cardinals, with the title of senators, to govern Rome and the pontifical possessions in Italy. Before the pope had made known his intention to be, in the words of Petrarch, "the first among the pontiffs to prefer the wild shores of the Rhône to the fortunate banks of the Tiber," one cardinal had divined the pontiff's idea. The senior of the Sacred College, Rosso Orsini, had said to Cardinal di Prato, who was so influentially active in the election of Clement: "You have obtained your desire; if I know the Gascons, you will very soon see the Rhône; nor will the Tiber soon see the popes again."

Yet it was one of those popes called Gascons, Gregory XI, who took back the authority of the Holy See to Rome. In so doing, Gregory XI repaired the immense error of Clement V.

To restore peace among the French, for everywhere discord prevailed with impunity, the Holy Father gave some explanations upon the bull, *Unam Sanctam*, attributed to Boniface VIII; and he declared that by that bull the French

and their kings were no more subject than before to the Roman Church. Subsequently he revoked the bull, *Clericis laicos*; and he re-established all that his predecessors had ordered in the Council of Lateran, and in other general councils, against laymen unduly exacting, from a church or an ecclesiastic, tributes or impositions of any sort whatever, or who give favor, counsel, or assistance in so doing.

From Bordeaux, whither he had gone for his health, the Holy Father went to Poitiers, where there was a kind of political congress relating to the affairs of Syria. The King of France was at that city, with his four sons and two brothers.

The question was agitated, too, of the conquest of the empire of Constantinople, recovered by the Greeks and fallen back into schism.

At that time the Holy Land also was the subject of debate. The pope had summoned into France the masters of the Temple and the Hospitallers (order of Saint John of Jerusalem) who were in the Levant. To the latter he wrote: "We are powerfully incited to succor the Holy Land, the King of Armenia, and the King of Cyprus; we think of sending aid to them. To that end we have resolved to deliberate with you and the master of the Temple, chiefly because you can give advice more understandingly than any other as to what should be done, qualified as you are by proximity of place, long experience, and reflection, but partly because, next after the Roman Church, you are principally concerned in this affair. We order you, then, to prepare to come as secretly as you can, and with few followers, as on this side of the sea you will find enough brothers of your order. But take care to leave in the country a good lieutenant, and knights capable of defending it, so that no harm will be done by your absence, which will not be long. Bring with you, however,

some persons whose wisdom and fidelity qualify them to join you in advising us.”

The master of the Temple immediately obeyed the order of the pope and proceeded to France. But the master of the Hospital, having set out for Cyprus, halted on the road to attack the island of Rhodes, occupied by the Turks, under the dependence of the Emperor of Constantinople. The Hospitallers there won much glory and the title of the Knights of Rhodes, which they continually made more illustrious by victories at sea (resulting in the destruction of many Saracenic fleets), and especially by their magnanimous defence of the city of Rhodes, which they lost only when there were but a few knights left in a condition to bear arms.

Pope Clement, faithful to the spirit of conciliation which animated the pontiffs, confirmed the peace concluded between the King of France and Robert, Count of Flanders; and he advised that more attention should be given to that which was in preparation between France and England. He listened favorably to Charles II, King of Sicily, who owed large sums to the Holy See. The pope commenced by abandoning one third of that sum, gave a considerable time for the payment of the rest, and then assigned the whole to Robert, son of Charles, by virtue of a consistorial bull.

The King of France demanded that Clement should condemn the memory of Boniface. The pope constantly refused, and, to persist in doing so more securely, he endeavored to leave Poitiers secretly for Bordeaux, but he was captured by the king's guards and compelled to return to Poitiers. After an illness caused by vexations, Clement confirmed Charles in the possession of the kingdom of Hungary, which belonged to him by the right left to him by his grandmother, daughter of King Stephen and sister of King Ladislas. Wenceslas, King of Bohemia, had been elected to the

possession of Hungary, and Boniface decreed that respect should be paid to the right of succession, and not to the right of election. Clement commanded Wenceslas, on pain of excommunication, to quit the kingdom of Hungary, and at the same time gave him permission to give his reasons to the Holy See for the action he had taken.

In 1308 part of the Basilica of Saint John Lateran was consumed by fire. It spared only the chapel of the Holy of Holies, in which were deposited the heads of the apostles Saint Peter and Saint Paul. The Holy Father sent deputies to Rome with a sum of money to commence repairs, and he requested the kings of Sicily and Naples to supply the wood necessary to restore the basilica.

In 1309 the Holy Father went by way of Bordeaux, Toulouse, Carcassonne, Montpellier, and Nîmes, accompanied by nine cardinals, to Avignon, where he lodged in the palace of the Dominicans. On leaving Poitiers, he declared that he would transfer the Holy See to a city devoted to the Roman Church; and four years after his election he established his residence at Avignon. Settled at Avignon at the close of the month of March, the epoch from which the popes date their residence in that city, Clement—to comply with the request of the King of France, which was repeated at Lyons and at Poitiers with an impetuosity that savored little of religion, considering that Benedict XI had reconciled that prince to the Church—then pronounced in full consistory that it was permissible to any one to institute proceedings against the memory of Boniface. Had Clement V been in Italy, he would not so easily have been constrained to such a compliance. Three cardinals were named to receive the accusations. At the same time others were sent to Rome to hear such witnesses as should present themselves as accusers of Boniface. A scandal was about to recommence

which had already occupied too large a space in history. William de Nogaret, William de Plessis, Peter de Gaillard, and Peter de Manosque, accompanied by a clerk, Master Alain de Lamballe, all five sent by the King of France, and certainly determined foes to Boniface, drew up an accusation in the form of a public document, and put it into the hands of Clement. This document is now in the archives of the Vatican.

On learning this, the King of Castile and the King of Aragon sent ambassadors to Avignon, and complained to the Holy Father of the great scandal which would be felt by all Christendom. Those princes could not without grief and horror see that a sovereign pontiff was about to be accused of heresy. Clement, foreseeing that the Church could in no wise suffer, because the memory of Boniface would be justified, and persuaded that it was impossible that heresy could exist in one who, like Boniface, had confessed and confirmed the Catholic faith, insisted upon the deliberation being continued, and named, in 1310, criminal judges who were further to examine the witnesses and prepare all the details for the trial.

The calumniators of Boniface and the enemies of the Church might have replied that the witnesses, being under fear, could not speak freely; but the Holy Father gave leave to all to present their accusations to that tribunal, and menaced with excommunication all who should prevent the free rendering of testimony in the cause.

The pope had named twelve defenders of Boniface, at the head of whom was James of Modena. The Cardinals Riccardi and Petroni wrote in favor of the accused. An infinite number of theologians and jurisconsults from all parts of Christendom devoted their pens to the defence of this cause, the most celebrated of the past times; and two Catalan

knights, Carocci and William Deboli, repaired to Avignon and offered to fight, in open field, in defence of the memory of Boniface.

Foreigners, then, had to come into France to defend the memory of the pontiff who had canonized the immortal Saint Louis, grandfather of the accusing king.

However, Philip, becoming ashamed of that frantic hatred which transported him beyond all bounds where Boniface was concerned, consented that Clement should end the cause with his council of cardinals, without waiting for the deliberations of a council which was to assemble at Vienne.

In 1310 the pope declared Boniface innocent upon all the charges brought against him, recognized him as fully Catholic, and, consequently, true pontiff. No doubt it was a flattery to add that the King of France had had no part in the violences exercised against that pope, and that Nogaret and Colonna had committed them without order or incitement from the king. The king paid to the apostolic chamber a hundred thousand florins for the expenses of that long trial.

The same year the pope approved the election of Henry of Luxemburg, asking of the Romans, on condition, that the prince should repair to Rome to be there crowned as emperor. He was so, in fact, in 1312, not by the hands of the pope or by those of the cardinal of Ostia, to whom that honor belonged, but by the hands of the cardinal of Sabina, who was sent thither by order of Clement, and who performed the ceremony in conjunction with four other cardinals.

The emperor, on his way to be crowned at Rome, was met at Lausanne by Baldwin, Archbishop of Treves, and John de Molans, canon of Toul, who had both been sent by the pope. In their presence he took, as had already been done in

his behalf at Avignon by his commissioners, the oath to defend the Catholic faith, to exterminate heretics, to contract no alliance with the enemies of the Church, to protect the pope, and to preserve the rights of the Holy See. He renewed and confirmed the donations made to the Church by Charlemagne, Louis the Pious, Otho the Great, Henry III, and other emperors.

Having arrived at Milan, the prince and his wife were crowned king and queen of Lombardy on the 6th of January, 1311, by Gaston de la Torre, Archbishop of Milan, commissioned to that end by the pope.

It must be confessed to the glory of the court of Avignon, that whatever were its errors in other respects, never were the rights of the Holy See better preserved at Rome itself. Unfortunately, Henry of Luxemburg did not keep his oaths, and he died in 1313, excommunicated by Clement.

In 1310 the Venetians had occupied the city of Ferrara, belonging to the Holy See; Clement excommunicated them, and sent an army against them, under Cardinal Arnaud, who gained a victory over the Venetians and recovered the city.

The Ferrarese then sent an embassy to the Holy Father. The embassy, in a public consistory, confessed that the city of Ferrara was a fief of the Church, and that if the marquises of Este had subjected it to their jurisdiction, they did so by force and not by justice. Oppressed by the house of Este, the Ferrarese had recourse to the Venetians in order to recover their liberty. But the Venetians had reduced the Ferrarese to the most desolating misery. So they now as faithful vassals had recourse to the Holy See. Clement published a bull in which he proved that Ferrara belonged to the domain of the Holy See from the time of Charlemagne, who delivered that city from the tyranny of Desiderius, king of the Lombards. The Venetians then asked for absolution of

the evil that they had done at Ferrara, and they were released from excommunication on the 26th of January, 1313.

Clement, who had visited all the Venaissin province, gave it the title of a county. He had silver coined, on which he called himself Count of the Venaissin; he selected a favorable locality upon that territory, and built a castle there. It was thence that, when consulted from almost all parts of Europe, he dated the pontifical decisions that were necessary to the due administration of ecclesiastical discipline and the defence of the rights of the Holy See. In a second promotion of cardinals, Clement gave the purple to Frenchmen only; they were five in number. The Italians complained of this kind of forfeiture.

The pontificate of Clement was rendered celebrated by the fifteenth general council, held at Vienne. It commenced on the 11th, or, as some say, on the 16th of October, 1311, and closed, after three sessions, on the 6th of May, 1312. There were present at it many cardinals, two patriarchs, three hundred bishops, the King of France and his three sons, who all reigned after him, Edward II, King of England, James II, King of Aragon, and many other illustrious persons. In that council means were adopted for maintaining the faith, weakened by frequent heresies, reforming ecclesiastical discipline, sending succor to the Holy Land, and examining the case of the Templars, who were accused by the king of a host of offences, on which the pope wished to ascertain the truth, especially as he thought he could perceive great exaggeration in the charges made against those religious.

Nine French knights, headed by Ugelin de Payens and Geoffroy de Saint Omer, instituted the order in 1118, taking in the presence of the Patriarch of Constantinople the vows of charity and obedience. They were to defend against the Saracens the pilgrims who should visit the holy places,

and they took the name of Templars, from their habitation near the temple of the Holy City. The knights, having been extremely useful during the times of the crusades, were enriched by the Christians. But, the wars ceasing, they lost their usual occupation, and sank into the evil habits which idleness so often engenders. The whole order was accused of committing the most enormous offences; among others, of denying Jesus Christ and abandoning themselves to idolatry. Those crimes and others are detailed in Rainaldi. In the Council of Paris, assembled in 1310, by the Archbishop of Sens, fifty-four of the knights were condemned on their own confession, and burned by order of the secular judges. Subsequently four and then nine other knights were condemned in the Council of Senlis on the same charges; but in the councils of Mainz, Treves, and Ravenna, held in the same year, they were declared innocent. It must be confessed that the case of the knights of that order is at present among the most difficult problems in ecclesiastical history. It is possible that their wealth, their peculiar vices, and a vanity which made them odious were their only real offences. The vigor with which they were attacked by their mortal enemy, King Philip, must not be overlooked. They were almost at the head of the revolution which was threatened when that prince sought to increase by two thirds the nominal value of money. It probably was chiefly on that account that the king caused the arrest of those knights on the 13th of October, 1307.

Be that as it may, two thousand witnesses were summoned. A hundred and forty of the arrested knights made confessions; only three persisted in denial. The council condemned the order in the second session, celebrated on the 3d of April, 1312. The pope had already, in a secret consistory on the 22d of March, abolished the order, but rather provi-

sionally than by way of condemnation. Their immense wealth, except such property as they had in Castile, Aragon, and Portugal, was given to the Knights of Saint John of Jerusalem, now called Knights of Malta. The personal property was almost all given to King Philip.

In our days we can only with great circumspection speak of those terrible events, since Bossuet uttered these striking words: "The Templars confessed under torture; they denied on the scaffold."

The Council of Vienne condemned Jean d'Olive, a Franciscan apostate born near Béziers. He pretended that the evangelical life consisted in this: that it is necessary to possess nothing, even in common; and that all clerics, secular or regular, who possess anything live in sin.

The council condemned the Fratricelli or Bizochi. Those heretics, corrupters of widows, wives, and maidens, attracted them by a feigned devoutness to nocturnal sacrifices. Their leaders in 1294 were two apostate Franciscans, Peter of Macerata and Peter of Fossombrone. Among other errors they taught that the pope had not authority to interpret the rule of Saint Francis; that they alone formed the true Church; that no one except they themselves could rightly be called pope or bishop; and that the churches and ecclesiastics could rightfully neither acquire nor possess any goods or property.

The council condemned the Dolcinists, founded towards the year 1305 by Dolcini of Novara, a disciple of Gerard Segarelli, a Parmesan. Under a religious and grave exterior they authorized the most abominable debaucheries, and pretended that their doctrine was the third law which perfected that of Christ.

The Bégards or the Beguins were also condemned. Their crimes were such that prudence forbade Clement to mention

them in the bull of condemnation. These heretics took their name from a society of devout ladies instituted in the Low Countries, where they have subsisted, to the general edification, even to our own days. They were not included in the sentence of the Council of Vienne, which expressly excepted them.

In that council the feast of Corpus Christi, instituted by Urban IV, was enjoined on all Christendom.

Then the laws of Gregory X on the election of the popes were confirmed.

On the 5th of March, 1313, Clement canonized Celestine V. Soon afterwards the news from Italy became more afflictive. The Guelphs and Ghibellines maintained an implacable war. The pope speedily determined to go to Bordeaux, hoping that the journey would restore his health. But he grew so ill on the way that he could not proceed, and he died on the 20th of April, 1314, the very day on which, two years before, the grand master of the Templars had been burned. The same year King Philip died on the 29th of November.

Clement had governed the Church eight years, ten months, and fifteen days. He was interred at Carpentras, and thence removed to near Bazas, in Gascony.

The Holy See remained vacant two years, five months, and seventeen days.



IOANNES · XXII · PP · GALLIA ·

JOHN XXII—A.D. 1316

JOHAN XXII, originally named James d'Euse, was born at Cahors, the son of Armand d'Euse, whom Saint Antoninus believes to have been a cobbler, whom Villani affirms to have been an innkeeper, but whom Albert of Strasburg, a contemporaneous writer, maintains to have belonged to a noble family. This is the most probable, for Albert was sent to Avignon by the Bishop of Strasburg in the time of Benedict XII. However it may be as to this last theory, which Baluze does not doubt, James was transferred from the bishopric of Fréjus to that of Avignon by Clement V, who, in 1312, made him cardinal-bishop of Porto.

After the death of Clement V six Italian and seventeen French cardinals shut themselves up in conclave in the palace of Carpentras. They were not, for the most part, determined to name a Gascon cardinal, as some of the cardinals of that province wished. Then the relatives of Clement V, as has been said, wearied by the result of the scrutinies and the heat of the weather, set fire to the building, and the electors had to make a hasty retreat through an opening made in the wall of the palace. This occurred on the 23d of July, 1314, when the conclave had been three months in session. The inhabitants of Carpentras were much excited upon this subject; the servants of the cardinals had been exacting towards the inhabitants, who resisted unreasonable demands. The cardinals dispersed to assemble no more, and during that time the Church languished in anarchy. Philip, Count of Poitiers, brother of King Louis X, whom he succeeded, compelled the

cardinals to return into conclave on the 23d of June, 1316, the convent of the Dominicans at Lyons having been prepared to receive them. Forty days after, setting aside two cardinals, who each received the same number of votes, the electors created pope James d'Euse, who took the name of John XXII. He was crowned in the city of Lyons, on the 5th of September in the same year, by the Cardinal Napoleon Orsini, the dean of the order of deacons, and the same who had placed the tiara on the heads of Benedict XI and Clement V.

On the 17th of December the pope appointed eight cardinals, seven French and one Italian. This step, like the similar one in the preceding reign, produced an unfavorable impression even upon the inhabitants of Avignon. Among the French cardinals was Jacques de Voye, of Cahors, son of a sister of the pontiff. The Italian cardinal was Cajetan Orsini.

The King of England, Edward II, sent ambassadors to John XXII to apologize for not having paid the tribute promised by King John, his predecessor, to Pope Innocent III. The tribute had not been paid for twenty-four years. The ambassadors alleged in excuse the exhaustion of the royal treasury. They brought the pope a thousand marks in payment for one year's tribute, and promised to pay in six years the arrears claimed by the Roman court.

James of Aragon also sent ambassadors to take the oath of fidelity in the name of that prince, tributary king of the kingdoms of Sardinia and Corsica, "in quality of gonfalonier, admiral, and captain-general of the Roman Church." All those titles are recited in a letter preserved in the Castle of Sant' Angelo.

Philip the Long, brother of Louis X, the Hutin, having been crowned King of France, and subsequently written to

the pope, promising constant readiness to serve the Church, the pope affectionately thanked him, and in a private letter, afterwards made known, exhorted him not to talk during the divine offices; to wear, like his ancestors, a long cloak; to prevent courts sitting on holy days; to read for himself all letters sent by the pope or by kings or princes, and to destroy them immediately, or at least to place them in safety. Had the king followed such advice, he would have avoided great dangers. The advice is singular, but it is probable that the king needed it.

At that period, domestic troubles having arisen at the court of Denis, King of Portugal, the pope had the satisfaction of appeasing them.

On the 7th of April, 1317, the pope canonized the son of Charles II, Saint Louis, Bishop of Toulouse, who had been his disciple, and he erected the see of Toulouse into an archbishopric. John himself founded many bishoprics in France: Montauban, Rieux, Riez, Lombez, Saint Papoul, Lavaur, and Mirepoix, all suffragans of Toulouse; then Limoux, which was transferred to Aleth; Saint Pons, near Narbonne; Castres, taken from Albi; Condom, which was an abbey like that of Tulle; Périgueux, taken from Sarlat; Saint Flour, Vabre, Maillezais, and Luçon.

John, seeing that in the kingdom of Aragon there was no other archbishopric than that of Tarragona, erected the cathedral of Saragossa into a metropolitan church.

Saint Bonaventure, in the general chapter celebrated at Pisa in 1263, while he was general of the Franciscans, ordained that the friars should, at sunset, exhort the faithful by the sound of the bell to salute the Blessed Virgin with three Hail Marys, the Angelical Salutation having taken place, it was supposed, at that hour. The Church of Saintes, in France, having adopted that custom, John XXII confirmed

it by a bull of the 13th of October, 1318, and afterwards by another bull of the 7th of May, 1327. Ten days' indulgence was granted to those who recited the salutation thrice, kneeling. It was also ordered that the pontifical vicar at Rome should prescribe the same custom there, granting the same indulgence.

Denis, King of Portugal, had founded the military order of Christ, to repress in that kingdom the depredations of the Saracens. John confirmed this order in the month of March, 1319, giving it for its first grand master Giles Martins, already grand master of the order of Avis.

The pontiffs were concerned in all political affairs. It will not be useless to prove that they thoroughly comprehended them, entered into them with zeal, and could, when necessary, give a good account of the negotiations of the entire world. Philip the Long showed some inclination to fulfil his vow to go to the Holy Land. John urged delay, and the crusade was deferred.

John was much attached to the order of Saint Augustine, of which he had been a member; and, in token of his gratitude, he assigned to it three important offices in the Roman Church—that of sacristan, librarian, and confessor of the pope. They enjoyed those offices until 1472. Then Sixtus IV, having founded the Vatican Library, took these offices from the Augustinians and divided them. Under Alexander VI the Augustinians regained the office of sacristan, which was granted to them in perpetuity, and which they still possess. The other two offices are given at the pope's pleasure.

At this time there was no place in Europe that was not ravaged by war; the Holy Father spared no pains to appease men's excited minds; like his predecessors, he thought this the noblest mission of the popes. At the same time he ad-

vised Christians to spare each other and to turn their arms against the enemies of Christ in Syria.

In 1320 there was a promotion of seven French cardinals, all men distinguished by their learning and piety. The appointment to the cardinalate of Raymond Ruffo, a Neapolitan by descent, but born at Cahors, was deemed a great concession. It was more than ever believed that, for the future, the Sacred College should consist entirely of Frenchmen. It might be a great honor for France, but a great evil for Christendom.

A theologian of Paris affirmed that it was necessary for a Catholic to repeat to his parish priest the confession that he had made to a religious. According to him, the pope could not permit the faithful, at Easter, to confess to any one but their own pastor. The pope ordered this turbulent spirit to defend his doctrine in a consistory, where he was convicted of error. Then he was ordered to retract his doctrine, and he instantly showed an exemplary obedience.

An affair of great interest at this time called for all the attention of the Father of Christendom and of the supreme head of all the orders of knighthood that were founded for the deliverance of the Holy Land. He had received complaints against the Teutonic Knights. John wrote them a letter which commenced by saying: "Gedemius, duke of the Lithuanians, informs us by letter and by his ambassadors that he desires to embrace the Christian religion, and begs us to send persons able to instruct and baptize him. We have received his request with great joy, hoping that his conversion may lead to that of a multitude of pagans in those parts."

The letter of the duke then complained of the Teutonic Knights. He said that Mindouf, his predecessor, and all his subjects had been converted to Christianity in 1255, and he

added: "But they have returned to idolatry, in consequence of the insults and the violence of the Teutonic Knights. They drive away missionaries, whether secular or regular, who labor for the conversion of the infidels, and refuse them safe passage over their lands. Far from encouraging the new converts to bring other pagans over to the faith, they reduce them to an insupportable slavery. They oppress even the ecclesiastics, maltreat and even kill them; despoil and pull down or burn the churches; and after having thus treated the ecclesiastics, they compel them, by imprisonment or threats, to promise not to seek redress. They have caballed to weaken in the country the authority of the Holy See and to prevent appeals to Rome. They usurp the rights of the Archbishop of Riga and of his church; they plunder the citizens, close the ports, and obstruct the liberty of commerce. Finally, when any of their brotherhood are wounded by the enemy, they themselves put them to death."

The Teutonic Knights were rich and probably abused their wealth, but it is difficult not to perceive exaggeration in these complaints. The court of Avignon perhaps gave too much credit to these denunciations, but it had good reason to redouble its watchfulness. To settle the famous controversy started in 1322, between the Dominicans and the Franciscans, as to the question of the poverty of Jesus Christ and his apostles, John, in 1323, declared that the constitution in which Nicholas III had granted to the Friars Minor the use of things of which he reserved the property rights for the Roman Church (this constitution having been explained and confirmed by Clement V) was not to be understood to include those things which are consumed by use. The pope added that those who affirmed that Christ and the apostles possessed nothing, individually or in common, should be re-

jected as heretics. In 1324 he condemned those who ventured to contradict his decision.

In presence of so solemn a decision by the pope, Vitalius and Bertrand de la Tour, Franciscan cardinals, and some bishops of the same order, immediately obeyed. They had written books discussing the questions. But there was a dissident, Michael of Cesena, also of the Franciscan order, who was afterwards unanimously condemned by his own brethren as well as by his pupils. They had all embraced that side of the question, to pay court to Louis of Bavaria in his celebrated controversy with Pope John. The controversy arose in this way. The Emperor Henry dying on the 2d of August, 1314, the electors of the empire assembled in the following year to elect a successor. Some elected Louis of Bavaria; others Frederic, son of Albert of Austria. Each supported his pretension by arms. The Holy Father seeing that the Bavarian caused himself to be treated as emperor, without awaiting the papal confirmation, begged him to remember that it was necessary that the matter of the election should be treated before the Holy See. The two competitors were cited, and called upon to show the reasons upon which they based their rights to the imperial crown. Louis would not submit to this judgment; and he even, on many occasions, defended those who were condemned for heresy. John ordered that there should be no communion with those who supported Louis as to what concerned the empire.

The Bavarian appealed to the pope, better informed, and to a general council. Then the Holy Father deprived the prince of all rights and excommunicated him as the patron of the heretical Fratricelli. Louis hired writers to draw up works in which they pretended that John was not a true pope. On the 20th of October, 1327, John excommunicated Louis, as having a court consisting of heretics, schismatics,

and apostates. Louis declared that he would go to Rome, where some of the seditious promised him their aid. Some more faithful Romans had also called upon the pope to go to Rome, but he was sick and eighty years of age, and could not venture upon such a journey.

Louis, having arrived at Rome, caused himself to be crowned king of the Romans, in the Vatican Basilica, by James Alberti, Bishop of Venice, and Gerard Orlandini, an Augustinian Bishop of Aleria, both already deposed and excommunicated. Louis then collected the accusations that had been brought against the pope, pronounced him degraded from the papacy, and condemned him to be buried alive as a heretic, and guilty of high treason for having usurped the rights of the emperor and for appointing vicars of the empire in Italy. Louis granted full power to the secular authority to punish John, and he caused the election of an antipope, as Nicholas V, of whom we shall speak hereafter.

The Holy Father, after ordering public prayers for the extinction of the schism, again condemned the Bavarian and excommunicated the antipope, as well as all who had assisted in his intrusive election.

Louis continued his violence; he called the pope John of Cahors, and also gave him the title of Prester John.

The pope, meantime, neglected none of his duties. He canonized the great Saint Thomas Aquinas, the immortal glory of the Dominicans, who died at the age of forty-nine, in the year 1274, as we have related, at the Cistercian monastery of Fossa Nuova, in the diocese of Terracina, while on his way from Naples to Lyons. Subsequently Saint Pius V, of the Dominican order, by a bull of the 11th of April, 1567, declared Saint Thomas the fifth of the holy Doctors of the Church.

An attempt was made to raise new difficulties for the pope,

because as a private doctor, and not as the Universal Doctor, he had appeared to believe that souls purged from all sin, and entering heaven, could not before the last day enjoy the sight of God. The pope, on his death-bed, declared, in the presence of the cardinals, that purified souls at once enjoyed the beatific vision. He protested that he had never intended to advance anything contrary to the faith, and that if he had hazarded a proposition contrary to sound doctrine, he formally retracted it. Unfortunately, the document which by his order was drawn up on the subject could not be completed in consequence of his death. But the successor of John, to reply to the calumniators, published a bull, on the 29th of January, 1336, in which he established the doctrine to which John was strongly attached before his death—namely, that souls purged from all sin instantly enjoy the intuitive sight of God. The same bull forbade the teaching of the contrary, on pain of excommunication.

In his promotion of cardinals in 1331, John had given the purple to Talleyrand de Périgord, a French nobleman, of the counts of that name, and allied to almost all the princes of France. He was Bishop of Limoges in 1324. In 1328 he was transferred to Auxerre; then, at the request of King Philip VI, created cardinal-priest of Saint Peter in Vincoli. He next became Bishop of Albano. Being afterwards accused by Louis of Hungary of complicity in the affairs of the succession of the King of Naples, Talleyrand was declared innocent. Appointed in 1356 to restore peace between the kings of England and France, he was obliged to leave the latter kingdom. He was next named legate a latere for the Holy Land, but died before he could set out. Novaes says that he was a cardinal of great authority; at Toulouse he had founded the Périgord College, and at Périgueux the famous Carthusian Vauclair.

We must here, in justice to John XXII, state that he had resolved to change the pontifical residence from Avignon to Bologna, as he often promised Cardinal Napoleon Orsini; but there was an obstacle. He was told that, before his departure, he ought to be assured that Philip de Valois had actually begun his march to the Holy Land. Philip having deferred, John could not accomplish his project, which was the more honorable to him because his great age rendered the design so perilous as to lead to the belief that he would not be able to accomplish it. This pope was born in 1244.

In 1334 the pope reformed (not instituted, as some authors have said) the tribunal of the Rota, so called because each member performed his duty in turn, *per rota*. The members were fourteen in number; Sixtus IV reduced them to twelve—three Romans, one German, one French, one Castilian, one Aragonese, one Venetian, one of Milan, one alternately from Florence and Perugia, one from Bologna, and one from Ferrara.

John XXII did not shrink from the most painful labors. He had pacified England, aided the King of Majorca against the Saracens, and sent missionaries to preach the faith to the infidels. The Eastern Church endeavored to triumph over the Turks. A league against them was formed by the kings of France, Sicily, Cyprus, and Armenia, and the Emperor Andronicus. The Venetians also promised their aid. All the princes had respectfully listened to the exhortations of John, but an outbreak in Bologna deeply excited his grief, and caused his death on the 4th of December, 1334. He is affirmed to have been ninety years of age. In the morning, having heard Mass and communicated, he felt weaker than usual; he sent for six cardinals, recommended the care of the Church to them, and added a few words about his rela-

tives to whom he had given the purple, but whom he left poor.

“John,” says Novaes, “carried great constancy into his enterprises. He was low in stature, but he had acquired vast knowledge; his mind was profound and sagacious, his heart magnanimous, and his prudence consummate. He was known to be eloquent, sober, frugal, humble, and just. Notwithstanding his advanced age, he was lively and easily irritated; but his anger was of brief duration, and suddenly, in the midst of a fit of petulance, his countenance would become serene, and he would laugh at the excitement he had but just ceased to feel.”

His body was found intact when, in 1759, his mausoleum was removed to another part of the cathedral. It was said that he left in the treasury twenty-five millions of florins in gold, eighteen in silver, and seven in gold and silver plate and jewels. Novaes believes that there is some exaggeration in this statement, reported by Villani.

The Holy See was vacant fifteen days. Pierre Rainalle, born at Corbière, who, as Nicholas V, was antipope under John XXII, had for forty years been a Franciscan in the convent of Aracœli.

He obtained the favor of Louis of Bavaria, and although as a Fratricello he should have disdained honors, he surrounded himself with a pompous retinue. In order to maintain this magnificence, he sold the sacred vessels, dignities, and privileges, and, for money, annulled the privileges granted by the true pontiff. Abandoned at length by all, he went to Avignon and begged pardon from John, who treated him kindly, but would not restore him to the liberty which he might abuse. Corbario lived three years and one month under strict surveillance, and died in the month of September,

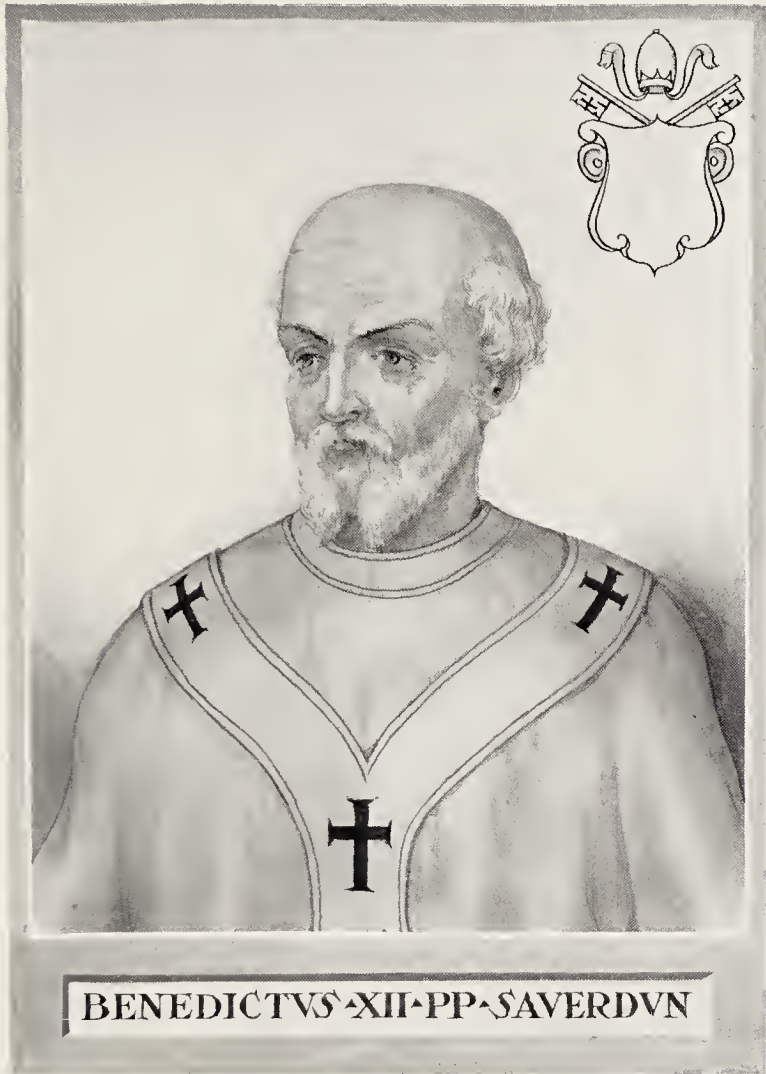
1333. He was buried in the church of the Franciscans, in their habit, and with proper honors.

During the reign of John XXII, Helyon de Villeneuve was named grand master of the Hospitallers by a chapter assembled at Avignon, under the very eyes of the pope. Foulques de Villaret, the previous grand master, and the conqueror of the island of Rhodes in 1310, had been intrusted by the court of Rome with a great secret. It was decided in the pontifical councils that the Hospitallers, in order that they might avoid the fate of the Templars, should become sovereigns somewhere, whence they could continue to protect the Holy Land. But Foulques, thinking more of his own interests, perhaps, than of those of his order, and led by a foolish pride, excited a revolt. The pontiff thought that Helyon would be at once a more faithful depositary of that secret, and a Knight Hospitaller disposed to love and care for his brethren without wishing to oppress them, and so it proved.

BENEDICT XII—A.D. 1334

BENEDICT XII was originally named Fournier and surnamed De Nouveau. He was the son of a miller, and nephew, on the mother's side, of Pope John XXII. He was born at Saverdun, near Toulouse.

After embracing the ecclesiastical life in the abbey of Bolbona, of the Cistercian order, he went to Paris to study, and was bachelor when he was elected abbot of Fontfroide, of the same order. He was Bishop of Pamiers nine years, then of Mirepoix twenty-two months, and at length cardinal-



priest of Santa Prisca. He owed this honor to John XXII in 1327. He was called the White Cardinal, because he had been a Cistercian, and not a Carmelite, as some authors have said, who are refuted by Baluze.

On the 13th of December, 1334, twenty-four cardinals assembled in conclave at Avignon, under the care of the Count Monasi, seneschal to Robert, King of Naples, sovereign of Avignon and of the county of Noailles, marshal of the Roman court, and governor of the county Venaissin. The pontificate was then offered to Cardinal John de Comminges, on condition that he would not return to Rome. He replied that such a compact would be prejudicial to the Church, and that he would rather be deprived of his red hat than obtain the pontificate on such unworthy conditions. He added that such proposals prolonged the dangers of the Church, which was removed from its legitimate and natural seat. Then they began to speak indirectly of the White Cardinal, who was deemed the least important member of the Sacred College. By degrees the cardinals thought more seriously about him. Comminges was of opinion that all the votes should be given to the White Cardinal, who very soon, without a scrutiny, was unanimously elected.

All who had concurred in the vote were astonished at the result. No one more so than James Fournier himself. "What have you done, my brothers?" he said; "among all you have chosen the least worthy." But they insisted, and he accepted the tiara. He took the name of Benedict, in memory of the patriarch Saint Benedict, whose rule he had followed during many years, and was crowned on the 8th of January, 1335, in the convent of the Dominicans, by Cardinal Napoleon Orsini, who, as we have seen, crowned the three preceding popes.

On the following day Benedict wrote a circular letter to

all the bishops and to all the Christian princes, except Louis of Bavaria, excommunicated by John XXII, and Frederic, King of Sicily, who had refused to pay homage for that kingdom.

The cardinals were poor: Benedict gave them one hundred and twenty thousand gold florins to enable them to supply their needs; and he gave fifty thousand florins more towards repairing the decaying churches and palaces of Rome.

He then sought means to eradicate simony, which continued its mischiefs, to make a wholesome reform in the religious orders, and to provide the churches with worthy pastors. He desired that the priesthood should be conferred only upon men of prudence, goodness, and learning, saying that he did not wish to "make mud splendid." He ordered the bishops and abbots who were at Avignon to return to their residences. He condemned the custom of Clement V and John XXII of giving benefices in commendam, and only excepted those given to the cardinals and titular patriarchs of the East, who had no other resources. In a spirit of order, he suppressed the expectatives, by which benefices were conferred before they were vacant. France, England, and Germany abounded in these favors.

He reformed the chancery and established rules there which still subsist. Benedict had formed the design of returning to Rome, because upon that point he shared the noble sentiments of Cardinal Comminges. The Romans, by their ambassadors, entreated the new pontiff promptly to effect that return of the Holy See; but some cardinals, already accustomed to the air of Provence, were not of the like inclination, and under the pretext that the Bolognese, invited at first to receive the pope and his cortège, sent only dilatory replies, the same cardinals persuaded Benedict that the old pontifical palace at Avignon ought to be pulled down,

and a new one erected on its site. Meanwhile Alphonso, King of Aragon, and King Robert swore faith and rendered homage, and paid the stipulated tribute.

At this time the pope, learning that men, intrusted by the pilgrims to interpret to confessors the details of their sins and offences, had sacrilegiously divulged the confessions, ordered that they should be punished, and it was then established that the penitentiaries should belong to various nations and should speak the most generally diffused languages.

Louis of Bavaria at length deplored his excesses towards the Holy See. Benedict, hearing of his repentance, encouraged him; but imprudent alliances contracted by that prince threw him back into heresy, and he incurred new excommunications.

It was at this period that Benedict published the bull in which he declared that the souls of the just, when scarcely freed from the body, if they had not to suffer the pains of purgatory, pass instantly to the heavenly beatitude, which consists in the sight of God.

In 1338 Benedict created six cardinals, five Frenchmen and one Italian. Here was still the same favoritism. The Italians continued to complain, and the Bolognese would not submit. The pope revoked the privileges of the University of Bologna, and ordered the professors and students to leave it. It had thus lost its splendor and its wealth, and to get back their university the Bolognese finally recognized the authority of the Holy See.

During the whole term of his pontificate, Benedict showed that he knew no kindred.

He died on the 25th of April, 1342, after governing the Church seven years, four months, and six days. He sometimes said that a pope had no family, and that the true priest,

after the order of Melchisedec, ought to have neither father nor genealogy. Benedict had but one niece, and he married her to a trader in Toulouse, refusing her to high personages who earnestly sought her hand.

Benedict, though unacquainted with political affairs, had great knowledge, was full of holy intentions, and of great integrity of morals. Miracles followed the death of this pope. The Holy See remained vacant eleven days.

Platina says that Benedict loved and sought out the good, but hated and repelled the wicked. Platina also says: "He intended to invite Zorus, a famous painter of that time, to paint the history of the martyrs in the palace he had erected." There is probably an error of the press here, and we should read Zotum, or rather Joctum—that is to say, Giotto, a celebrated painter, who left such fine frescoes at Assisi, who had already painted at Avignon, and who died in 1336, two years after the election of Benedict XII.

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CLEMENT VI—A.D. 1342

CLEMENT VI, originally Peter Roger, was of the noble family of Beaufort, whose genealogy is given by Baluze. He was born in a village dependent on the castle of Maumont, diocese of Limoges, in France. At the age of ten he took the Benedictine habit in the monastery of Chaise-Dieu, in Auvergne. At thirty-one years of age he was professor of theology at Paris, preceptor of Charles, Marquis of Moravia, who was afterwards emperor under the name of Charles IV, and at length proviseur of the Sorbonne.



CLEMENS · VI · PP · GALLVS

Having become abbot of the monastery of Fécamp, in Normandy, he was sent by John XXII as nuncio to London and Paris, to put an end to the war between those two capitals. He then became Bishop of Arras, and at the same time keeper of the seals and chancellor to the king; then, in 1329, he was Archbishop of Sens and of Rouen. Benedict XII gave him the title of cardinal of Saints Nereus and Achilles.

The second day of the conclave, in which there were seventeen cardinals (one being absent from an attack of gout), and thirteen days after the decease of Benedict XII, Peter Roger was elected pope, at the age of fifty, on the 7th of May, 1342. His election to the pontificate had been predicted to him by Stephen Aldebrand, prior of a monastery, when Peter, leaving Paris to go to Chaise-Dieu, was plundered by robbers in the wood of Randan. The prior gave Peter clothes to continue his journey; and Peter, full of gratitude, said to the prior: "And when shall I return this favor?" "When you are pope," replied the prior, with great presence of mind. And, in fact, when he was pope, Peter sent for the prior, made him chamberlain of honor, then Archbishop of Arles, and afterwards of Toulouse.

The new pontiff took the name of Clement VI; he was crowned on Whitsunday, the 19th of May, in the church of the Dominicans, which he quitted to traverse, in magnificent pomp, the finest streets of Avignon. John, Duke of Normandy, heir to the crown of France, held the bridle of the pope's horse; and there were also present Philip, Duke of Burgundy, and Humbert, the dauphin, Duke of Vienne.

The pope made known his promotion to all the sovereigns of Europe, exhorting them to govern their people mildly, to maintain religion with all their strength, and to preserve the purity of the faith.

He ordered all the favors asked of him to be expedited

gratuitously during two months. On this occasion all the ecclesiastics of Europe rushed to enjoy the fruits of that new favor. Nearly a hundred thousand of them arrived, who returned to their own countries overwhelmed with favors and with gratitude. Benedict, from his strictness, left many benefices unfilled; Clement left none vacant. He made a great many reserves in the bishoprics and abbeys, disregarding the elections of chapters and communities; and when it was represented to him that his predecessors had not held the same course, he replied that "then they did not know how to be popes."

As soon as the news of the election of the pontiff reached Rome, the Romans, as they had done under Clement V, John XXII, and Benedict XII, despatched eighteen ambassadors, six from each of the three Estates, selected by the first families of Rome. At the head of the embassy were Stephen Colonna and Francis de Vico.

Then another embassy was sent; it included the celebrated Francis Petrarch, who the year before had received the poetic laurel crown. Both embassies were directed to insist upon the pope's return to Rome with his court.

The pope said that that was not as yet possible, and he gave as a reason the necessity of reconciling the Catholic princes; for the war still continued between France and England. He also alleged as a reason the necessity of remedying the evils of Spain, which was in an unfortunate condition.

Clement, after honestly alleging these motives, employed his utmost activity to destroy the scourge of war. He published a sentence of excommunication against whomsoever should arm a vessel to make a descent upon France, and against any one who should make an incursion into England. By these various means he produced an armistice for three

years. At the same time he restored peace between Peter, King of Aragon, and James, King of Majorca.

In 1342 there was a promotion of cardinals, in which there were nine French cardinals and one Italian. The majority of the French were blood-relations of the pope.

On the 19th of January, 1343, Robert, surnamed the Wise, King of Naples, died, and left his States to Jane, daughter of his son Charles, and wife of Andrew, King of Hungary. The States were to be governed by a regency named by the king until the young princess and her youthful husband attained the age of twenty-five years.

The Holy Father affirmed that he alone had the right to administer that kingdom, which was dependent on the Holy See, and he appointed Cardinal Aymery de Chastellux as governor in his name until Queen Jane attained her majority. The regents appointed by Robert themselves obeyed the orders of the pontiff, who, by his legate, tranquilly governed the kingdom.

The royal pair were about to be crowned, when, on the night preceding the day appointed for that ceremony, the unfortunate Prince Andrew was found strangled.

Some traitors, it was said, by the order of his own wife, had committed the crime. On hearing this, the pope sent to Naples Cardinal Bernard de Poyet, with instructions to follow the proceedings against the queen, suspected of having ordered the death of her husband, a young man only nineteen years old. She was never convicted of the crime, and in the following year she married Louis, Prince of Tarento.

On the 27th of February, 1344, the pope gave the cardinal's hat to two Frenchmen.

Clement, in 1344, crowned as King of the Fortunate Islands (now known as the Canaries) Louis de la Cerda,

Count of Clermont and prince royal of Spain, who took the oath to remain tributary to the Holy See and pay the annual sum of four hundred gold florins. It now remained for the new king to gain possession of his kingdom, obtained on condition of establishing the Catholic faith there. The enterprise was executed by another. The descendants of La Cerda are now a part of the Medina Celi family.

Clement continued to invite the princes to hold themselves in readiness for another crusade, which he had proclaimed in 1343. In regard to this enterprise he wrote to the grand master of the Knights Hospitallers of Saint John of Jerusalem a letter which is worth citing, as it refers indirectly to the Knights Templars.

Helyon de Villeneuve, grand master of the Knights of Rhodes, was thus remonstrated with:

“We learn from many persons of consideration that you and your brothers make no good use of the innumerable possessions that you hold on both sides of the sea. Those who have the management of them ride fine horses and make good cheer, are superbly dressed, and eat off gold and silver plate, keep dogs and falcons for the chase, amass great wealth, and dispense small alms.

“And then, they do not trouble themselves about the Christian faith or the defence of Christian people, chiefly those beyond sea, for which defence their great wealth was given to them. For these reasons it has been debated whether it would not be well for the Holy See to create a new military order, to be endowed with a portion of this property of yours, so that there should be emulation between the two orders, as formerly there was between yours and the Templars.

“There is about to be another expedition, in which you are invited to partake. Many complain that you have great

dissensions among yourselves, and that you do not pay your serving brothers and your priests.”

The reproof is bitter, but it was dated from near the spot on which Jacques Molay was buried.

Villaret had labored selfishly, and he was punished for it. Villeneuve looked only to the order and his own sovereign power. Some of the members took advantage of the virtues of their grand master. Villeneuve did no wrong, and he had to suffer for the misdeeds of others.

The Christian army set out, besieged and took Smyrna. The Hospitallers replied by their victories to the accusations which their enemies made against them to the pope.

Then the Holy Father granted to Otho, Duke of Burgundy, and to John, Duke of Normandy, as well as to Philip, King of France, and his queen, the privilege of communicating in both kinds. Those sovereigns made use of that privilege only on the day of their coronation and at the point of death.

Bercastle says that communion under both kinds was the ordinary custom at the commencement of the twelfth century, but from the thirteenth century was exclusively reserved to priests in the Latin Church. “But,” adds Novaes, “we find neither law nor constitution for the change, which was introduced insensibly.”

James, being despoiled of his kingdom of Majorca by Peter, the King of Aragon, applied to the sovereign refuge common to all princes, and he obtained from the court of Avignon complete protection and reparation.

Louis of Bavaria did not return, as was his intention, to better sentiments. The excommunication issued against him by Clement’s predecessors was renewed. At the call of the pope, the electors assembled and named as king of the Romans Charles IV, of the house of Luxemburg, Marquis

of Moravia, and son of John, King of Bohemia. He was crowned at Rome, and remained in peaceful possession of the empire after the death of Louis, which occurred in 1347. Then those great evils ceased which had caused so much disturbance in Germany and Italy.

We have now to give an account of the attempt made in 1347 by Cola di Rienzi. He made himself tyrant of Rome, persuading the populace that the ancient splendor of the Roman republic should be restored, and he declared himself the tribune of the new republic. The pope's legate was not slow to profit by the faults of the senseless reviver of an authority which time and change had rendered impossible. After several months of tyranny (1348) he was excommunicated. He voluntarily resigned the insignia of his tribune power, and fell into the hands of the agents of the Holy Father, who kept him prisoner.

The same year Clement canonized Saint Yvo de Tréguier, and Robert, founder and first abbot of the monastery of the Chaise-Dieu.

It was in 1348 that the pope purchased from Queen Jane, of Provence, the city and dependencies of Avignon for the sum of eighty thousand gold florins. The Emperor Charles IV confirmed the deed of sale by an edict of the 1st of November following.

The sect of the Flagellants, which took its rise in Italy about the year 1260, was condemned by the pope in most severe terms. Those wretched people continued to teach, among other impieties, that no one could be saved unless baptized in his own blood, drawn from him by scourging. In their eyes, baptism by water was useless. Clement's bull especially condemned those who, coming from Hungary, scourged themselves publicly in the streets, thus giving a spectacle at once disgusting and cruel.

When Clement ascended the papal throne, the Romans asked him to do them three favors: first, to accept for life, not as pope, but as Peter Roger, the title of senator, captain, and other offices of the city; second, to inhabit the Lateran Palace, near the church, the mother of all the churches, and the peculiar see of the pontiff; third, to reflect how few people could enjoy the jubilee granted centennially by Boniface VIII, and to appoint the jubilee for every fifty years.

Two months after, the pope replied to the first request, that he accepted the charges, which he well knew were rightfully his, and that he would designate persons who, in his name, should govern Rome without prejudice to his pontifical authority.

To the second request he replied that he would continue to inhabit Avignon, for the purpose of reconciling the Catholic princes and more closely attending to the negotiations.

To the third request he replied that he willingly did what was agreeable to the Romans; the jubilee of the holy year should be celebrated every fiftieth year, and that the next jubilee should take place in 1350. The same constitution provided that to the visiting of Saint Peter and Saint Paul should be added the visiting of Saint John Lateran. Gregory XI, by his constitution *Salvator noster*, dated at Avignon, 29th of April, 1373, ordered that the visit to Saint John Lateran should also be made.

Cardinal Annibali de Ceccano, the legate at Rome, had orders to take all necessary measures to prevent the peace from being disturbed at the approaching jubilee, and for securing to the pilgrims the necessary aid, provisions, and protection.

From Easter to Christmas twelve hundred thousand pil-

grims were computed to have arrived, including personages of high rank; among them was Louis, King of Hungary.

At this time Florence solicited the privilege of erecting a university.

In the promotion of cardinals, in 1350, we find nine Frenchmen; Capocci, a noble Roman, great-nephew of Honorius IV, and Giles Albornoz, a noble Spaniard, born at Cuenca, a relation of the King of Aragon. It was this cardinal, formerly a military man, who in less than five years reduced a great number of revolted principalities and cities to obedience to the popes. He had the keys of all the conquered cities delivered to him, and when he was afterwards accused of improper administration of the property of the Church, he presented to Urban V, who was then at Viterbo, several wagons filled with the keys of the castles and cities that he had recovered for the Holy See. Among the French cardinals we find a Montesquieu, born in the diocese of Auch, in Gascony.

Armenia, in 1351, governed by Leo, was a prey to disturbances which destroyed the faith and encouraged the enterprises of schismatics. As was then the custom, for the good of the Church and for both the morality and the interests of the nations, the pontiff interposed in questions of public order wherever they arose. As the history of the Church touching such occurrences was that of the world, it must be said that Clement determined to purge Armenia of many fatal and inveterate errors.

Fresh efforts were made to induce the Christian princes to send reinforcements and money to the Armenians to enable them to resist their enemies.

Clement especially exerted himself to make known to the princes that there was in Asia a people that held the Catholic

faith. To assist them would be to diminish the expense of the crusades, as the crusaders would thus find on the spot friends and brothers who would render it easier for them to conquer the Turks. From the great number of missionaries whom he sent into those countries, Clement, better than any other prince in Europe, knew the extent of the evils and the kind of succor that was required; and that he might hope for great success, facilitated by the enthusiasm and the gratitude of the Catholics of the country.

John Visconti, Archbishop of Milan, had received investiture of that city and of its castles; but he had usurped Bologna, and that city, which had refused to receive the Holy Father, groaned beneath the yoke imposed upon it by the Visconti. As usual in such cases, Bologna recurred to her former master for deliverance. The pope repressed the invasions of the archbishop, and then, by virtue of arrangements provided for cases of tyranny, he granted the investiture of Bologna to that same prelate. This circumstance was due solely to the false position in which the popes were placed, in sometimes having more power at the courts of other sovereigns than in the cities which were the absolute and recognized property of the Holy See.

Some complaint was made against a portion of the constitution of Gregory X concerning the conclave. A new bull allowed the sacred electors to eat meat, fish, herbs, eggs, and fruit at the time when the use of such food is permitted.

This pope, who was indefatigable in labor, began, however, to lose his strength, and he died, almost suddenly, on the 6th of December, 1352. He had governed the Church ten years and seven months, all but one day. Before his death he recommended the interests of the Holy See to the cardinals.

His body was removed, in the following year, from Avi-

gnon to the abbey of Chaise-Dieu, where he had been made a monk.

Some time before his death, the pious and scrupulous pontiff had said in a constitution: "If, formerly, being in a lower rank, or since we were raised to the apostolic chair, we have, either in controversy or in preaching, said anything contrary to Catholic faith or Christian morality, we revoke it, and we submit it to the correction of the Holy See."

Novaes says: "Clement had profound knowledge, and so singularly faithful a memory that he never forgot what he had once read. He was mild, polished, courteous, and of agreeable aspect. No one saw him without loving him. Clement was magnificent and splendid in all his actions. He had a great number of attendants, and especially of physicians, whom he supported without needing them.

"He spent one hundred thousand florins upon the poor, and much more upon his relations, of whom he was too fond." It has been said of him that he humanized the too strict virtues of Benedict XII.

Saint Peter Thomas of Aquitaine, of the order of the Carmelites, in twelve funeral orations, celebrated the merits of this pontiff.

The Holy See remained vacant eleven days.



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INNOCENT VI—A.D. 1352

THE name of Innocent VI was Stephen Aubert. He was born at Brissac, near Pompadour (Limousin), of parents in modest circumstances. At first professor of civil law, he became, in succession, auditor of the tribunal of the Rota, and Bishop of Noyon. After being translated to the see of Clermont, he was created by Clement VI cardinal of Saints John and Paul; the same pope then named him legate to the courts of France and England, to negotiate a peace between those kingdoms, and, finally, Bishop of Ostia and grand penitentiary.

In 1352 Stephen was elected pope on the 18th of December, twelve days after the death of Clement VI. Twenty-eight cardinals were in the conclave. The majority were inclined to give the tiara to John Birel, the holy general of the Carthusians; but Cardinal de Talleyrand, who feared that he would be too strict, dissuaded them from so doing. Subsequently Talleyrand, seeing the miracles wrought by that great monk, abandoned his prejudice, and acquired such esteem for the Carthusians that he founded and richly endowed a magnificent monastery of that order in France. Cardinal de Couillac obtained eighteen votes, but, nineteen being required, Stephen Aubert was very suddenly elected, because John II, King of France, was making forced marches upon Avignon to compel the election of a pope to his own liking, which that king might well look forward to, as many of the cardinals were his own subjects.

The new pontiff took the name of Innocent VI and was

crowned in the cathedral church on the 23d of the same month of December, by Cardinal Gaillard de la Mothe, first cardinal-deacon; but he would not have the customary cavalcade in the city after the coronation, declaring that he avoided the pomp of that ceremony in order to avoid the expense.

Innocent proceeded without delay to the reform of many abuses which were then complained of. He revoked the constitution by which Clement VI had reserved to certain cardinals some dignities, and some benefices in cathedrals as well as in collegiate and religious churches. He annulled the commendam of the churches and monasteries, excepting those which had been granted to cardinals. He enjoined residence upon the bishops, on pain of excommunication. He exacted it with equal strictness from the holders of benefices who had the cure of souls, and who rushed to the pontifical court to solicit more lucrative benefices. "The sheep," said he, "must be taken care of by their own shepherd." He reformed, beyond what had been done by his predecessors, the excessive luxury of the court, and retained to the necessary number those domestics who deserved it by their good conduct. He established a fixed salary for the auditor of the Rota, and ordered that thenceforth the priesthood and the benefices should be conferred only upon persons of great merit, saying that the ecclesiastical dignities were not the reward of high birth but of virtue. He firmly reproved the young cardinals who, under the preceding pontificate, had abused their rank and power. Finally, he annulled all the laws that the cardinals had established in the recent conclave.

The object of these laws was to limit the power of the pope. The substance of them was as follows: "The pope will create no cardinals until the number shall be reduced to six-

teen; to those he can add only four, to form at most the number of twenty; and he cannot create them without the consent of all the cardinals, or at least of two thirds. He will not touch their property while they live, nor after their death. He is not to alienate or unfeif the lands of the Roman Church, in whatever province or place they may be, according to the privilege of Nicholas IV. No relation or connection of the pope shall have the office of marshal of the Roman court, or governor of the provinces and territories of the Church. The pope is to grant to no prince tithes or other subsidies, nor reserve them to the chamber, without the advice of two thirds of the cardinals; and he is to leave them freedom of voting in their deliberations. All the present cardinals swear that the one who shall become pope will invariably observe the foregoing, and any one elected pope or cardinal shall on the same day make the same promise."

On the 25th of December, 1352, the pope raised to the purple his nephew, Aldouin Aubert, who was Bishop of Paris in 1349, and then promoted to the bishopric of Auxerre. After receiving the purple Aldouin Aubert was transferred to the bishopric of Maguelonne. At that time the cardinals bore the name of the bishopric each had filled. As Talleyrand-Périgord and Pierre Courson had been bishops of Auxerre, in order to avoid a threefold confusion the pope's nephew became Bishop of Maguelonne. Thus the confusion became only twofold, and then the family name was added to establish a precise distinction between Talleyrand and Courson. It was in 1353 that, in order to make the pontifical authority respected in many parts of Italy, the pope sent hither Cardinal Giles Alvarez Albornoz, a Spaniard.

At this time a disturbance broke out in Rome. The people revolted against the senators Stefanello Colonna and Berthold Orsini, appointed to that dignity by the pope; and

Francis Baroncelli, notary of the senate, was made tribune of the city. The Holy Father ordered the liberation of Cola di Rienzi, who promised to restore quiet to the city. Baroncelli was rewarded with death for his senseless confidence in the people; and Cola di Rienzi was named senator by the pope. Rienzi subjected to a stern justice the principal insurgents of the city. But in 1354 a conspiracy was formed against Rienzi, and he was assassinated at the foot of the Capitol. After these events a great number of senators rapidly succeeded each other, and the people at length created bannerets, about whom we shall speak hereafter.

Peter, King of Aragon, went to Avignon, and, as he had done in the reign of Clement VI, swore fealty and did homage for the fief of Sardinia and Corsica, conformably to the oath that he had taken in the presence of Boniface to make that oath to every pope the first year of his pontificate.

Innocent sent Guy, cardinal-bishop of Palestrina, to effect a peace between England and France, but after the preliminaries the negotiations were broken off by the French king, according to English authors, but, according to French authors, by the English king. It is needful, therefore, to review at a later time the annals of the period, in order to do justice to each, and praise and blame where praise and blame are due. Probably both princes were in the wrong.

In 1354 Innocent granted to Germany and Bohemia the privilege of celebrating, on the Friday after Low Sunday, the feast of the Lance and the Nails, which were the instruments of the Passion of Jesus Christ.

The city of Rome showed signs of desiring internal peace. Albornoz was ordered to nominate magistrates and to receive with the customary honors the king of the Romans, Charles IV, who was about to be crowned as emperor.

The king arrived on Maundy Thursday, 1355, under the

strictest incognito, and visited the principal churches of Rome. On Easter day he was crowned emperor by the cardinal-bishop of Ostia, Peter Bertrand. Anne, wife of the emperor, was crowned as empress. She had come from Germany, escorted by five thousand German cavalry and more than ten thousand infantry, subjects of the emperor in Italy.

The emperor on the same day accepted a dinner given with great pomp by the cardinal in the palace of Saint John Lateran. The emperor then went to pass the night beyond the city limits, in obedience to the Holy Father, who had required that the emperor, when once crowned, should not remain a single day in the city.

The Emperor Charles IV is the same who is called "the priests' emperor," on account of his union with the Holy See, and the respect that he showed to the popes. To him was owing the constitutive bulla which was formed by the famous Bartolus and is known as the Caroline or the Golden Bull, because it bore a gold seal. This bull served as the fundamental law in the election of the emperors.

Queen Jane and her husband had not paid the tribute due to the Holy See; but upon the pope making some rather sharp remonstrances, it was paid, and a good understanding restored between Naples and Rome. Innocent, feeling for the misfortunes of the Greek Empire, and more than ever desiring the union of the two churches, sent legates to Cantacuzenus, who governed the empire during the minority of John Palæologus. Cantacuzenus, who was no less skilful in theology than in the science of history and politics, believed that that union could be effected only by a general council at which the bishops of both churches should be present.

When Palæologus ascended the throne and governed for himself, he bound himself by oath to obey the pope in the same manner as other Catholic emperors and kings, to ren-

der due honors to apostolic legates, and so to act as to cause the Greeks to recognize the authority of the Holy See. At the same time Palæologus begged the pope to send an army to put down at once the Turks and the rebellious Greeks. A treaty was signed with the Bishop of Smyrna, apostolic nuncio. Greek ambassadors went to Innocent, and he sent two bishops to Constantinople to strengthen the feeling of conciliation. But perceiving that this enterprise did not succeed, owing to the perfidy of some Christians who favored the Turk, he ordered the King of Cyprus, the Venetians, the Genoese, and the Knights of Rhodes to get together in the port of Smyrna the number of galleys prescribed by Clement VI to maintain the rights of religion. In order to bring about the difficult peace between England and France, Innocent sent Cardinals Talleyrand and Capocci. The Most Christian King drove Talleyrand away, with threats of death, and refused the good offices of the Holy Father. When, however, the cardinal learned that the King of France, John II, had unfortunately become a prisoner to the English, he redoubled his efforts with the emperor, and especially with the King of England, who, at the request of the pope, urged with much dignity by Talleyrand, treated his prisoner generously. Each in his turn experienced the beneficial effects of the conciliatory spirit of the popes.

Albornoz, being called to Avignon, was received there with the greatest honors. The cardinals went to meet him, and the pope, in full consistory, called him "Father of the Church."

As the University of Bologna lacked a faculty of theology, Innocent founded one with the same privileges enjoyed by the other faculties.

There was a dispute between Peter, King of Aragon, and the senate of Genoa, relative to Sardinia and Corsica. John,

Marquis of Montferrat, having been named arbiter between them, decided in favor of Genoa. The Genoese immediately took the oath of fidelity for Corsica, which they occupied, in the presence of the pope's legate, Andrew, Bishop of Rimini.

As though they could endure no authority, the Romans, after having tried almost all, even that of Lelio Pocadota, a shoemaker, promised to be faithful to Innocent. He sent Peter de Lusignan, King of Cyprus, who was then at Avignon, to govern them. For a time that prince was respected, but ere long disturbances recommenced.

Innocent had a thousand times endeavored to restore peace among the princes of whom he was the common father. He had lavished generous aid during the plague of 1361, which carried off nine cardinals and a hundred bishops, and decimated the people. He had governed the Church nine years, eight months, and twenty-six days, when he died on the 12th of September, 1362. He was interred at Villeneuve, in the church of the Carthusians, a monastery which he had had built in 1356.

Innocent was a great canonist. He loved uprightness and justice. His own life was upright, and his zeal for religion was unalterable. He was rather too much attached to his relatives, but it must be added that all those he favored deserved it. He cherished men of letters and granted them favors.

He founded, at Toulouse, the College of Saint Martial for twenty students from the diocese of Limoges; and his nephew, Cardinal Peter de Monturc de Donzenac, founded at the same place the College of Saint Catharine. In Martène's *Thesaurus* there are some letters of this pope.

The Holy See was vacant one month and fifteen days.

Under this reign Marino Faliero, doge of Venice, was

raised to that dignity at the age of seventy-six years. He formed the project of permanently keeping the power which had been intrusted to him only for a few months. The conspiracy was discovered, and he was beheaded on the 17th of April, 1355, at the age of eighty years.

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URBAN V—A.D. 1362

THE original name of Urban V was William de Grimoard. He was the son of the Baron du Roure and of Emphelise de Sabran, sister of Saint Elzear, and was born at Grisac, in the diocese of Mende, in the Gévaudan. Some authors, however, state that he was not born at Grisac.

At a very early age he entered a Benedictine monastery of the priory of Clairac, and became a very renowned professor at Montpellier, Toulouse, Paris, and Avignon, and then vicar-general to the bishops of Clermont and of Uzès. He was afterwards made abbot of Saint Germain d'Auxerre, whence he was sent to the abbey of Saint Victor of Marseilles.

Innocent VI summoned him to Avignon, and accredited him to Queen Jane, at Naples, to assist her in governing her States, after the death of her second husband, Louis of Tarento, which occurred on the 26th of May, 1362; and he finally discharged the duties of papal nuncio to the Visconti of Milan. On the 22d of September, after the death of Innocent, twenty cardinals assembled in conclave. The conclave was divided into two parties: the Gascon cardinals, sub-



jects of the King of England as Duke of Aquitaine, on the one side, and the French cardinals on the other. However, on the 28th of September they agreed to elect Hugh Roger, a Benedictine monk and brother of Clement VI. But Hugh, with rare courage and with uncommon modesty, refused the pontificate and persisted in his refusal. Subsequently William de Grimoard was elected pope, on the 28th of October, at the earnest recommendation of Cardinal d'Aigrefeuille, although he was nuncio at Naples and was not a cardinal. The author of the Lives of the Popes of Avignon states that this election took place on the 27th. The sacred electors despatched to the nuncio the decree of his election; he received it secretly, as some say at Florence, and others at Marseilles, on his way back from Naples, whence he had been summoned on pretext of consulting him upon the differences of opinion in the conclave. The partisans of Grimoard kept the election secret, lest the Italians on learning it should throw obstacles in the way of the new pope's arrival, or that he should refuse the tiara. The election, therefore, was not made public until he reached Avignon, on the 31st of October.

On that day he was enthroned, consecrated on the 6th of November, and crowned by Cardinal Aldouin Aubert, Bishop of Ostia.

Everything was prepared for the ceremony of the cavalcade, but the pope refused thus to show himself in public, for two reasons: he had a horror of pomp, and then, from a sentiment of noble pontifical modesty, he regarded the papacy as being exiled as long as it remained at Avignon.

In 1362 and in 1363 Urban condemned Barnabo Visconti, usurper of many of the church territories, as infidel, heretical, atheist, and impious, and he declared war against him. If, in 1364, Barnabo appeared to repent, it was not long be-

fore he yielded to the fury which rendered him one of the most abominable princes of that time.

Urban organized a crusade against the Saracens; it was to be headed by John II, King of France. Cardinal Talleyrand, Bishop of Albano, was named papal legate for the expedition. The cares of the pope and his Christian watchfulness prevented a war breaking out between the Genoese and the Venetians. The Genoese were incited to new combats by the Candiotes, then in revolt against Venice. Skill and prudence extinguished the discord between the Archbishop of Salzburg and Rudolph, Duke of Bavaria. All the princes of Germany had taken a part in it, each in his own interest. Timely representations caused the delay of the hostilities which were in preparation between Charles V, King of France, and the King of Navarre, on the subject of the duchy of Burgundy, that John had given to Philip, while the King of Navarre affirmed that it was his inheritance.

Meanwhile the King of Aragon, ungrateful to the Holy See, appropriated to himself the funds received by the Roman exactors; and he also usurped those of the cardinals and of the bishops who resided away from their churches, even with the permission of the pope. Urban, not willing to allow ecclesiastical liberty to be oppressed, exhorted the king, in paternal letters, to restore what he had forcibly taken. He conjured him, also, to revoke an edict which enjoined the disposal of the property of the absent clergy. The king replied that he had acted on the advice of wise men; and the pope then cited the king to appear before the Holy See. Urban also demanded the payment of the tribute that had been agreed upon, which was now ten years in arrear.

Following the example of the kings of France, of Denmark, and of Cyprus, the Emperor Charles IV, in 1365, paid a visit to Urban.

The pope celebrated solemn Mass on Whitsunday. The emperor was present, wearing the imperial cloak, with his crown and sceptre.

Charles, in a numerous assemblage of crowned heads, deliberated with Peter de Lusignan, King of Cyprus, upon the means of re-establishing the Catholic faith in Asia, and of extirpating in France and Italy certain bands of adventurers and assassins who threatened to approach Avignon and threw the court into such consternation that the pope was obliged to purchase his liberty with a large sum of money.

The leader of these assassins, called Arnaud of Servola, vulgarly known as the archpriest, was invited to enter Avignon, and he was received there with as great honors as though he had been a son of the King of France. He had the honor to be seated at the table of the pope and his cardinals; and, after giving proofs of respect, he departed with the absolution which he had asked and merited by promising no longer to annoy the papal court at Avignon, and to renounce his depredations, which would have drawn down upon him the indignation of the King of France.

It was then that the famous Petrarch strongly urged the pope to leave France and to restore to the people of Rome the presence of the Holy See.

It is certain that before that event, so well calculated to excite terror in Avignon, which saw itself on the point of being pillaged, the pope had formed the design of at least visiting the holy places of Rome. Cardinal Albornoz had caused the roads to be repaired, and had re-established the influence of the pontifical authority wherever the pope was to make a halt.

In 1366 Urban created two cardinals. The first was Giles de Grimoard, his brother, born at Grisac, a canon regular of Saint Augustine. The second was William Sudre, a French

noble, born in the diocese of Tulle, a celebrated monk of the Dominican order, then Bishop of Marseilles, and subsequently of Ostia.

The pope could not forget the great business of reuniting the Latin and Greek churches. He despatched legates to Michael Palæologus to hasten its success.

At the same time Urban made public his great desire to return to Rome.

He set out accompanied by five Venetian galleys, three Pisan galleys, and many other vessels of the Genoese navy, on the 20th of May, 1367, notwithstanding the representations of many sovereigns, some cardinals, and almost all the courtiers. Four days afterwards he was at Genoa, where he was received by the nobility in a splendid palace.

On the 11th of June the pope reached Corneto, where he was met by Cardinal Albornoz and a great number of prelates and noble Romans.

From Viterbo the pope set out for Rome, where he made his entrance sixty-three years after the death of Benedict XI. He was received with all the honors due to a sovereign and the head of the Church; and he was visited by the Emperor Charles IV, Peter, King of Cyprus, and Queen Jane of Naples. The emperor had advanced to Viterbo to meet the pope. When Urban entered on horseback, the emperor and the Count of Savoy walked beside him, holding his bridle. The empress arrived a few days later, and the pope crowned her on All Saints' day; at Mass the emperor is said to have served as deacon, but he did not read the Gospels, which he could only do on Christmas day.

Wishing to avoid the heat of Rome, the pope left there on the 11th of March, 1368, and took the road for Viterbo, where he decided in favor of the Dominicans in a cause which they maintained against the Franciscans, relating to

the body of Saint Thomas, which the latter possessed at Fossa Nuova, whence the sacred remains were transferred to the church of the Dominicans at Toulouse, as the Bollandists state.

The order of the Jesuats had been founded in 1360, by the Blessed John Colombini, a noble of Sienna, formerly filling the post of gonfalonier, the highest dignity in his republic. After separating from his wife, by mutual consent, the founder, at the head of sixty of his companions, crowned with olive leaves, met this pope, who approved the order, placing it under the rule of Saint Augustine.

The pious founder died on the 31st of July, 1367, the same day on which, subsequently, died Saint Ignatius Loyola, founder of the Jesuits. The order of the Jesuats was extinguished by Clement IX, on the 6th of December, 1668. Colombini was placed by Gregory XIII in the Roman Martyrology.

On the 5th of April, 1368, Urban canonized Saint Elzear, Count of Sabran; then he went to Viterbo to avoid the heat. There the Perugians, who wished to shake off the authority of the Holy See, declared war against him. They made raids up to the gates of Viterbo, carrying fire and sword wherever they appeared. The Holy Father, perceiving how much these attacks strengthened the party of those who wished to return to Avignon, published a crusade against the Perugians, and succeeded in reducing them to order.

This year, 1368, Palæologus, persuaded of the benevolent intentions of the Holy Father, repaired to Rome. He prostrated himself at the feet of the pontiff, who received him with nearly the same honors that were rendered to the Emperor of Germany. There, in the Church of the Holy Ghost, Palæologus abjured schism. The oath was drawn up both in the Latin and the Greek languages. The emperor sealed

it with a golden seal, and delivered it to the pope, that it might be kept in the archives of the Church.

On the 21st of October the emperor went to Saint Peter's. The pope, in his pontificals, received him at the head of the steps. The emperor knelt and kissed the feet of the pontiff, then rose and kissed his hand and mouth. They entered the church together, where Urban intoned the *Te Deum* and celebrated Mass, and afterwards gave a magnificent repast.

In 1370 Urban had the satisfaction to learn that the Greeks began sincerely to recognize the supremacy of the Roman Church. The Princess Clara, widow of Prince Alexander, chief of the Wallachians, had embraced the Catholic faith. One of the daughters of the Prince of Bulgaria followed that example. The Moldavians, the Albanians, the Russians, and the Georgians all at once returned to the faith.

The war between the kings of Aragon and Navarre, and between the French and English, and perhaps also the revolt of the Perugians, witnessed by the pope himself, induced some cardinals, who loved the pleasures of Provence and the peace which they enjoyed among a people so gentle and already lovers of art, to represent to the pope that he ought to return to Avignon. Urban yielded, but he now perceived the magnitude of his error in naming so many cardinals belonging to France or Aquitaine.

Peter, prince royal of Aragon and a friar of the order of Saint Francis, one of the friends of the Holy See, who had most earnestly urged Urban to return to Rome, implored the pope not to go back to Avignon, and declared that his doing so might produce a schism in which a host of innocent Christians would perish. Finally, Saint Bridget told the pope that she had had a revelation from the Blessed Virgin that if he went to Avignon he would die almost as soon as he arrived, which was actually the case.

Nothing, however, could detain Urban; he persisted in his determination. He had inhabited the ecclesiastical State three years and nine months. On the 26th of August he set out from Montefiascone; embarked near Corneto on the 5th of September, 1370, on a fine ship, escorted by many vessels of various nations. He entered Marseilles on the 16th of September, and saw his palace at Avignon on the 24th of that month. Urban had commenced writing touching letters, recommending peace, when he was attacked by a continual fever, during which he would not lay aside his religious habit.

The disease constantly grew worse; then he had himself removed from the pontifical palace to the palace of his brother, the cardinal of Albano, where he died on the 19th of December, at the age of sixty-one years.

Urban had governed the Church eight years, one month, and twenty-three days.

He was at first buried, dressed in the habit of his order, in the chapel of John XXII, forming a part of the Church of Saint Mary in Dompnis. The last day of March, 1371, he was removed to Marseilles, where he was interred in the Church of Saint Victor, of which he had been abbot. Gregory XI, his successor, ordered ten cardinals to accompany the body and to honor the funeral pomp that he himself had ordered.

Urban was adorned by the finest virtues and with all which befitted his supreme dignity. The kings of France for a long time exempted from taxation the place where he was born. Waldemar, King of Denmark, in view of the miracles wrought by this pope after his death, continued during five years to urge Gregory XI to canonize him. Urban held great pomps in contempt. He was a patron of men of letters. He instituted the academy of Cracow, in Poland, and

increased the privileges of that of Bologna. He founded at Montpellier a college for twelve youths of the city and of the diocese, where they were to be instructed in the science of medicine. He also, at his own expense, kept other students in several universities. He was very liberal to the poor, and especially to the rich who had fallen into poverty from unforeseen misfortunes. He was inimitable in works of piety. It was he who caused the heads of Saint Peter and Saint Paul to be sumptuously encased in the Church of Saint John Lateran. In the revolutions since then, part of the rich ornaments of the busts have disappeared.

Urban granted favors to his relatives with moderation. He promoted none of them excepting on the ground of great personal merit. He enriched none of his lay relatives, and from respect to the pontifical dignity he ordered his father to give up a pension of six hundred livres allowed him by the King of France. He had only one nephew, whom he married to the daughter of a merchant in Marseilles, whom the nephew would not have sought had the uncle been less modest.

He well remembered the insults he had received while in a private station, but he never avenged himself for them. William, Archbishop of Sens, had treated him with some severity about a contribution which was not due, and which Abbot Grimoard therefore declined to pay; and the archbishop had gone so far as to say: "You will avenge yourself when you become pope." Having become pope, Urban sent for the archbishop and said to him: "We do not intend to take any revenge for an outrage which doubtless you have not forgotten; on the contrary, we shall promote you. You have now but one cross, you shall have two; we name you Patriarch of Jerusalem." The pope, moreover, secured to the archbishop the revenues he previously enjoyed.

The Holy See was vacant ten days.



GREGORIVS · XI · PP · GALLVS ·

GREGORY XI—A.D. 1370

GREGORY XI, originally named Peter Roger de Beaufort, was son of William, Count of Beaufort, who, during his life, saw his brother and his son become pope, and another brother, two nephews, and five cousins become cardinals.

Peter Roger was born at Maumont, an estate in the diocese of Limoges. He was, successively, canon of Paris, archdeacon of Rouen, and apostolical notary. He was a man of excellent disposition, who distinguished himself by great application to study, especially that of legislation. It is said that in the University of Perugia he studied under the celebrated Peter Balde, of whom he thought so highly that he consulted him on important business.

When scarcely seventeen years old, he was created cardinal by his maternal uncle, Clement VI, and received the title of Saint Mary Nuova, on the 29th of March, 1348; then he became cardinal-archpriest of the Lateran Basilica.

On the 30th of December, 1370, he was against his will elected pontiff by the nineteen cardinals who were assembled with him in conclave.

He was only thirty-nine years old, but of very matured intellect.

Cardinal Guy de Boulogne, Bishop of Porto, ordained him priest on the 4th of January, 1371. On the following day he was consecrated bishop and solemnly crowned. After that ceremony came that of the cavalcade in the city of Avignon. The Duke of Anjou, brother of Charles V, King of France, held the bridle of the pope's horse.

By his first constitution, the pope, who had taken the name of Gregory XI, declared that the Basilica of Saint John Lateran was the principal seat of the sovereign pontiff, and the first in dignity of all the churches.

Following the traces of his predecessor, Gregory undertook to restore peace between the kings of France and England, but all his efforts were vain. The two legates employed on that mission do not seem to have sufficiently seconded the views of the pope. The legate to Paris, Cardinal de Dormans, had been chancellor of France, and considered only the interests of that court. Cardinal Simon de Langham, formerly Archbishop of Canterbury, and legate in England, had cause of complaint against King Edward. This double partiality defeated the negotiations.

Other legates, who were sent to Henry, King of Castile, to Peter, King of Aragon, and to Ferdinand, King of Portugal, were more successful and concluded truces of some years. Ferdinand, King of Portugal, ceased for some time to retain the free domain of many cities in the archbishopric of Braga, and Amadeus, Count of Savoy, promised to desist from all spoliation of the Bishop of Geneva, till then recognized as the lord of that city.

In 1371, about the 6th of June, Gregory made at Avignon a promotion of twelve cardinals. One of them was a Spaniard; one belonged to the family of the counts of Geneva. This was Raoul, afterwards antipope, who took the name of Clement VII.

The ten others were French, and five of those were from the province of the Limousin, and countrymen or relations of the pope. Novaes says that Gregory acted thus in order to counterbalance the authority of the old cardinals, who, knowing Gregory's gentle and modest disposition, had undertaken to govern him imperiously.

In the year 1372 Gregory first ordered the feast of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary to be celebrated in the West on the 21st of November. Peter, King of Cyprus, sent to the pontiff the office of that solemnity, set to music, as chanted in the East. Gregory approved it, and had it executed in the church of the Franciscans of Avignon, whence it spread throughout the West. This feast, inasmuch as it did not date from a very high antiquity, was subsequently suppressed by Saint Pius V in the Breviary; but the Jesuit Father Francis Turriano having proved, by various testimonies from the Greek and Latin Fathers, that it was anciently celebrated, it was replaced in the calendar by Sixtus V.

Barnabo Visconti continued to invade the territories of the Church and to excite the most violent hatred at Milan. He ordered that the execution of state criminals should be prolonged through forty-one days. The tortures were to be inflicted only on alternate days. On the first, third, fifth, and seventh days the condemned were to be five times beaten; on the even days, second, fourth, etc., they were left to a frightful rest; on the ninth and eleventh days they were forced to drink water mixed with chalk and vinegar; on the thirteenth and fifteenth days the skin was taken from the soles of their feet; on the seventeenth and nineteenth days they were deprived, one after the other, of an eye and a foot.

And finally, if at the forty-first day, after a series of other atrocities, any life still remained in the mutilated trunk, it was broken on the wheel.

When sentence of excommunication was pronounced against Barnabo, there was not one voice in Europe to object to it.

Civil war still desolated Italy. It was at this period agreed

that when a treaty had been subscribed, if any conditions of peace were contravened, the pope should judge the case, and the infractor should be subject to excommunication and interdict.

Here we have excommunication and interdict formally recognized by the secular power as a legal chastisement which they agree to suffer in case of perjury. The question of excommunication is here settled; it was part of the legislation of the time, and an indispensable part when such as Barnabo were in power.

Although the Emperor Palæologus had returned into the bosom of the mother Church, there yet were numerous Greeks who persisted in their old errors. Gregory thought fit, in 1373, to send two nuncios to them—one of the order of Saint Dominic; the other of the order of Saint Francis. The pope exhorted the people and the clergy of Constantinople to condemn absolutely and forever the schism which they still maintained.

Then, to defend the Catholic religion and bridle the pride of the Mussulmans, he had a crusade preached in Germany and other countries, granting indulgences to all who took up arms against the enemies of the Christian faith. At the same time, the continuance of the complaints against the barbarities of Barnabo Visconti having excited universal indignation, Gregory, on the 7th of March, cited him to appear before the Holy See, to hear the sentence pronounced upon him, according to the canons against sacrilege, assassins, the persecutors of the Church and of ecclesiastics, and, finally, against the inventors of punishments unknown in history. The citation was supported by an army under the command of Amadeus, Count of Savoy, brother of Cardinal Robert.

The ceremony of the jubilee was at hand; the pope ordered that, in addition to the visits to the basilicas of Saint Peter

and Saint Paul beyond the walls, Saint Mary Major should also be visited.

In the year 1375, while the jubilee was celebrated, Gregory, by a bull on the 29th of March, ordered all prelates to repair to their churches. He had already often recommended this since his elevation. The patriarchs, the archbishops, the bishops, abbots, and other superiors of religious, were within two months to return to their churches or monasteries, and not cease to reside there. This order was not to apply to the legates, cardinals, the four patriarchs of the East, the nuncios, and other officers of the Roman court.

At this time the pope one day met in Avignon a bishop, and said to him: "What are you doing here? Why do you not return to your church, which you should love as your spouse?"

The bishop as boldly as justly replied: "And you also, Holy Father, why do you not return to your spouse, infinitely more illustrious and attractive than mine?"

The freedom of this reply only served to confirm Gregory in the resolution he had long since made to put an end to that widowhood which so afflicted the Roman Church, transported from its natural abode.

Moreover, the Holy Father was continually exhorted to return by Peter, the Infante of Aragon, that holy personage who had made so many efforts to retain Urban V at Rome.

The pontiff had often, too, to reply to the entreaties of Saint Catharine of Sienna and of Saint Bridget, who incessantly repeated that the pope ought to return to Rome. It is certain that, independent of those solicitations, the Holy Father had received an embassy of the Romans; they had secretly determined that, in case of the resistance of the pontiff, their fellow-citizen, the abbot of Monte Cassino, should be elected, as he had promised never to abandon Rome.

Then Gregory declared his intention to depart; in fact, he announced it officially to the emperor, to divers other sovereigns, and to the lords and all the people of Italy.

Scarcely was that positive resolution of the Holy Father made known to the King of Castile, when that sovereign, because the neighborhood of the pope was an encouragement to making war upon the Saracens, wrote an urgent letter in deprecation of his departure. Gregory replied that, having considered the benefit that would result to the Church from the return of the authorities to Rome, he was obliged to keep his promise, but that he should not cease to feel deep interest in the king and his subjects. At the same time he offered all the apostolical favors in his power.

Charles V also made various efforts to detain Gregory. The care of those negotiations was intrusted to the Duke of Anjou, brother to that monarch. The duke represented that his departure alarmed the king, and that the Holy Father would run great risk in returning to ungrateful Rome, which could render the pope's residence there insupportable.

Some of the cardinals added their complaints to those of the two monarchs; then came the pope's own relations, wearying him with their selfish grievances: relatives have easy access to the courts of princes, and can harass wavering minds by their reiterated croakings.

Gregory remained inflexible, and replied that he could not forget his word; that he had made a vow to God, and that he would keep the promise which no one could cause him to break.

However, the pope deemed that he ought to grant some delay to the two princes, the King of Aragon and the King of France. France and England were about to sign a treaty of peace under the pontifical mediation. Gregory consented to defer his departure for a few months; and during all that

negotiating he had the happiness, on occasion of various hasty executions of some convicts, to obtain a rule that thenceforward, in France and elsewhere, the old rule should no longer be enforced, of refusing sacramental confession to the condemned, to whom it was always refused, even when solicited with all the signs of a sincere repentance.

On the 20th of December, 1375, Gregory made a promotion of cardinals, the last that took place in Avignon. It included seven Frenchmen, one Italian, and one Spaniard.

In 1376 the Holy Father excommunicated the Florentines, convicted of having ill-treated the apostolical legates. The Florentines then sent Saint Catharine of Sienna as their ambassadress to offer fitting satisfaction to the pope. He accepted it and reopened the bosom of the Church, but the peace was of no long duration.

On the 10th of September in the same year, the pope, with a cortège of cardinals, left Avignon. Six cardinals remained there; among them was Jean de Blandiac, who received the quality of vicar to govern the Venaissin State.

On the 12th of October His Holiness embarked at Marseilles on board the Capitana, of the Knights of Saint John of Jerusalem, at the helm of which was the grand master of the order, Ferdinand Heredia, whose skill and experience saved the pope from a threatening danger on the always somewhat tempestuous coast of Provence. Gregory disembarked at Genoa, remained there for a few days, and sailed again on the 28th of October for Leghorn. There he received from the Pisans all the provisions and refreshments that he required. Another tempest cast the pope upon the shores of Piombino, and at length he disembarked near Corneto, where he celebrated Christmas. In the month of January, 1377, after new perils, which he surmounted with great courage, Gregory entered Ostia, ascended the Tiber, and

finally disembarked near the gate of Saint Paul, at Rome. The magistrates of Rome received their sovereign with great demonstrations of respect, joy, and affection. The solemn entrance took place on the 17th of January.

Thus did Gregory restore to the desolated city of Rome the Apostolic See, which had been exiled at Avignon during seventy-one years, seven months, and eleven days; that is to say, from the 5th of June, 1305, the day on which Clement V officially established himself there, to the 17th of January, 1377, the day of Gregory XI entering Rome.

He was on horseback, accompanied by thirteen cardinals, followed by a great multitude of the people of Rome, but more especially of the environs and from the riverside. In the evening, amidst universal applause, he visited the Church of Saint Peter, which was brilliantly lighted up by torches and many-colored lamps.

One of the first cares of the pope, on his recovery from the fatigues of his travel, was to attend to the heresy of Wyckliff, and he wrote as follows to the Archbishop of Canterbury and to the Bishop of London:

“We learn with grief that John Wyckliff, doctor in theology, and rector of Butterworth, in the diocese of Lincoln, maintains and publicly preaches many false and erroneous doctrines, some of which relate to the errors of Marsilius of Padua and John of Jandun, the Fratricelli, and others condemned by our predecessors. You should feel shame and remorse of conscience that you have thus long tolerated those errors. We therefore order you to inform us whether it is true that Wyckliff has maintained the doctrines of which we send you a copy.”

Another bull directed the same prelates to communicate this matter to King Edward, his children, the Princess of Wales, and the nobility of England. A third bull was ad-

dressed to the University of Oxford, and contained similar reproaches upon the conduct of the doctors for their tardiness in repressing the errors of Wyckliff, whose progress the pope ordered them to oppose.

The teaching of Wyckliff had already spread in Great Britain. Wyckliff attacked the Church, the pope, and the religious orders; he showed no respect for the sacraments or the ecclesiastical hierarchy. For a time he seemed to abjure his blasphemies, but ere long he loudly defended the doctrine of Berengarius, the Waldenses, and the Albigenses.

Before the bulls of Pope Gregory could reach England, King Edward was no more. He died on the 27th of June, 1377, having reigned nearly fifty-one years. His successor was Richard II, son of Edward, Prince of Wales, who died in the previous year. Richard was only eleven years old. He was crowned at Westminster on the 16th of July, and reigned under the guardianship of his uncle, John, Duke of Lancaster. The Duke of Lancaster and Henry Percy, marshal of the kingdom, supported Wyckliff.

Gregory, fearing the summer maladies of Rome, resolved to go with his whole court to Anagni, and he took up his abode there until the end of November, 1377.

The pope began to be tormented with the idea of returning to France, and the French cardinals daily renewed their entreaties to that end. Consequently, wishing to provide for the election of his successor, he signed a bull on the 19th of March, 1378, in which he made some important arrangements. In case of the death of the pontiff, the cardinals who should then be in Rome, or a majority of them, might, without summoning the absent or waiting for them, choose, either in or out of Rome, a place to assemble in conclave. Notwithstanding the opposition of a minority, the majority could act, and, disregarding the law requiring a two-thirds

vote, the election could be made by a simple majority of the cardinals present. The election thus made was to be valid for that time, and whoever should be elected, even though there was a very strong minority, should be the true pontiff, and pastor of the Universal Church.

But death came before the pope could effect his return. He observed that Rome was no longer a fitting place for him, and that the Romans despised his decisions, while they were received with respect by all Catholic potentates.

One of the circumstances which most afflicted the pope was that of the disobedience of the *banderesi* (bannerets), who had laid at his feet their banners, the symbol of their authority, and had taken them up again to continue to govern independently. Gregory found himself obliged to yield to them, otherwise he would have had to fear violence.

Further, some rebellious cities had promised submission; but, far from acting upon that prudent determination, they excited to revolt the *comuni*, who had remained faithful. Everywhere petty tyrants sprang up who insulted the pontifical dignity; and the Florentines (all Guelphs as they were), that is to say, professedly protectors of Rome, supported the resistance of the refractory *podestats*. Afflicted by so much disorder in public affairs, and no longer able to bear the tortures of the gravel, which extinguished all his strength and courage, Gregory became seriously ill, and died on the 28th of March, 1378, at the age of forty-seven years, lacking a few days, having governed the Holy See seven years, two months, and twenty-eight days, as well at Avignon as at Rome.

“Gregory XI,” says Bercastel, “was the seventh and the last of the pontiffs whom for a period of over seventy years the Church of France consecutively gave to the Universal Church. Although these pontiffs were all, without excep-

tion, illustrious for their knowledge and talents, and though most of them were also distinguished for sanctity of life, and though some of them even had the gift of miracles, their names are not in high repute in the Roman Church, which makes them responsible for fatal disturbances and the desolation that she suffered during more than a century. The strange translation of the Apostolic See into France stamps on that nation a stigma which the brilliancy of French talents and much virtue have not been able to efface, and which, even centuries hence, will at most be only weakened."

In all the actions of Gregory we see traces of his modesty, his benevolence, his prudence, his frankness, and his natural liberality. He cheerfully gave proofs of patronage and generosity to the learned. It must be admitted that this pope was too partial to his relations, but he would not aggrandize them more than they had been by his uncle Clement. Upon that point, Father Berthier, in the Ecclesiastical History of France, says: "This pope constantly had with him his father, his brothers, and his nephews; and at their solicitation he granted favors which were not always wisely bestowed."

Gregory was interred in the Church of Santa Maria Nuova, as it was formerly called, but now commonly called Santa Francisco Romana. There terminated the novendiali (nine days' funeral rites), which were commenced at Saint Peter's.

The Holy See remained vacant eleven days.

URBAN VI—A.D. 1378

THIS pope was originally named Bartholomew Butilli Prignani; he was of an illustrious family of Naples, and Archbishop of Bari, whither he was transferred from the bishopric of Acerenza by Gregory XI. Although it was known that he was not decorated with the purple, he was unanimously elected pontiff, at the age of sixty years, on the 8th of April, 1378, by sixteen cardinals who were in Rome and formed the conclave there. Among those cardinals four were Italian, eleven French, and one Spanish. The Sacred College consisted of twenty-three cardinals. Six had remained at Avignon, and one, John de la Grange, was legate at Florence.

On the 7th of April those sixteen cardinals were assembled in conclave. A caporione (chief of the quarter) of the *banderesi*, who governed the municipal quarters or divisions of Rome, presented himself with a message from the Romans, informing the electors that the people desired a Roman pope. He reminded them that before the death of Gregory the cardinals themselves had determined that it should be so, that the pontiff might no more retire from Rome, which his departure would plunge into ruin and desolation. Cardinal de Glandeve replied that they would choose a worthy man capable of rightly governing the Church, and the caporione took his leave, saying: "God grant that you give us a Roman; if you do not, you will repent it!" He had scarcely gone when they unanimously elected the Archbishop of Bari, upon whom they had fixed their choice even before



VRBANVS · VI · PP · NEAPOLITANVS ·

they entered into conclave. A vague rumor announced this election in Rome. The Romans, who would fain have seen the tiara on the brow of Cardinal Orsini, although the caporione had not said so, and who had forgotten that, though one of the two Roman cardinals, he was too young to be elected, rushed to arms and began to assault the Vatican, exclaiming: "We will have a Roman! we will have a Roman!" Now, besides Cardinal James Orsini, who was too young, there was but one other Roman, Francis Tebaldeschi, cardinal of Saint Peter's, who was very old and of obscure condition. He was called cardinal of Saint Peter's because he had been the senior canon of that basilica. In reality, he should have been styled cardinal of Saint Sabina, as that was his title. The cardinals, with Tebaldeschi's consent, published that he was the elected pontiff and that he was a Roman. The good cardinal lent himself to this feint. He was attired in the pontifical habit, and the populace hastened to pay their homage to him. All this appeared easy, because the really elected pope was absent, so that it was not necessary that two cardinals should combine to mislead the populace.

Meantime the Sacred College secretly made known to the Archbishop of Bari his own legitimate election.

The "cardinal of Saint Peter's," quite decrepit with age, could not any longer endure the pain that he felt as often as the populace came to kiss his hands, which were swollen and stiffened with the gout. At length he tried, with all the strength that was left in his voice, to make the people understand that not he but the Archbishop of Bari was the newly elected pope, elected by his own vote, cast by him as the cardinal of St. Peter's, and by the unanimous votes of his colleagues.

As soon as the populace confusedly understood his words they burst into a terrific fury. They rushed hither and

thither about the Vatican, threatening to kill the cardinals if they would not elect a Roman. But the cries of the people were only in vain; there were only two Roman cardinals, one too old, who would not be elected, and the other too young, who therefore was ineligible.

The cardinals were then shut up in conclave, when they simply confirmed the election already made; then they despatched Agapetus Colonna to tell the populace that they might kill them, but that they were all determined to make no other choice. Colonna was also to point out that the electing cardinals had favored none of themselves, but that their choice had fallen on an absent archbishop.

The fury of the Romans began to calm down. It was therefore resolved, in the conclave of the 9th of April, to attire the new pope (who chose to take the name of Urban VI) in the pontifical habit, to place him in the chair of Saint Peter, and to go through the usual ceremonies. The cardinals, who had retired to conceal themselves from the fury of the populace, again assembled to the number of twelve, and they were enabled to proceed, with some quietness, to the exaltation. On the 10th, Easter day, Urban was crowned by Cardinal James Orsini. The four absent cardinals, who had been sheltered in Zagarolo, a fortified castle, took part in the ceremony; and the same day the pope was enabled to take possession of Saint John Lateran.

Scarcely two months had elapsed when the cardinals perceived that Urban showed small respect to them. He had determined to reform some abuses. Moreover, he did not agree with them on some most important questions. Most of the cardinals were for returning to Avignon, to which Urban would not consent. Eleven of the cardinals, those who were French, and the Spaniard, De Luna, under the pretext of the excessive heat, retired to the city of Anagni, while Urban,

with the few Italian cardinals, went to Tivoli. The opposing cardinals, secure of the protection of the King of France, denounced the violence that the Romans had exercised towards them. Evil counsels then prevailed, and this part of the Sacred College had the audacity to depose Urban from the pontificate—that same Urban whom they had all freely elected, with even a resolute and courageous firmness, in presence of the fury of the Roman populace. The pope, deposed by them, was also declared contumacious. After such a decision the opposing cardinals knew no feeling of moderation; they went to Fondi, a city subject to Count Honorius Gaetani, at a short distance from Gaeta, with the permission and even at the earnest request of Queen Jane, who pretended that she also had reason to complain of Urban. There they brought into their party three other Italian cardinals, which made the number of the opposition fifteen. On the 20th of September they elected Robert of Geneva, who thus became antipope.

Thus commenced the twenty-second schism of the Western Church, at once the longest and the most pernicious, for it lasted fifty-one years, from the 20th of September, 1378, to the 26th of July, 1429.

The faithful, during this time, knew not who was the true head of the Church whom they should obey. For, if Saint Catharine of Sienna; if Peter, prince royal of Spain, a Franciscan friar, illustrious by his virtues, and honored as possessing the gift of prophecy; if Alphonso, the Spaniard, who from the bishopric of Jena had gone to a solitary and apostolical life, and was the companion of Saint Bridget in her pilgrimages; if Saint Catharine, who was the daughter of Saint Bridget—if such personages sustained the side of Urban VI, the side of Robert of Geneva, called Clement VII, was supported by Saint Vincent Ferrer, the oracle of

Spain, confessor of the Archbishop of Bari before his pontificate, and by Peter of Luxemburg, the model of holy prelates.

Pope Urban VI was obeyed by Italy, England, Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, Poland, Portugal, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Prussia, and Friesland. On the other hand, Robert, called Clement VII, was recognized by France, Spain, Scotland, Cyprus, Sicily, Naples, and by many provinces that changed their fealty as often as they deemed it to their interest. Others remained neutral until a council should decide. Urban returned from Tivoli to Rome, escorted by the troops of Queen Jane, who ere long declared against him. From Saint Mary Major he went to the palace of Saint Mary in Trastevere, and on the 18th of September he made a promotion of twenty-six cardinals, but three of them declined to accept the dignity.

On the 6th of November in the same year, 1378, the pope deposed and deprived of the purple and of ecclesiastical benefices, and inflicted other penalties on the antipope Clement VII, as well as the principal authors of the schism. On the 29th of the same month he condemned the abettors, clerical or lay, of the same Clement. With the other cardinals he dissembled, especially with the three Italian deserters, in order that he might ascertain if by forgiveness he might not bring them back to obedience. But in this he did not succeed. Among the twenty-six newly promoted cardinals there were three French: Philip d'Alençon, of the branch of the Valois, Bishop of Beauvais, then Patriarch of Jerusalem and Bishop of Ostia; Rainulph de Gerza de Monturc, near Limoges, Bishop of Sisteron; and Elzear de Sabran. Another cardinal, Eston, was English, born at Hereford, in England, of mean condition; a Benedictine monk, of vast erudition, and very pious, he had merited the dignity of Bishop of London. Another of those cardinals, a

religious of the Order of Mercy, was a Spaniard. The other twenty-one were Italians, from various parts of the peninsula.

In 1379 the antipope sent an army against Urban; but the generals commanding for the latter beat the antipope's troops and made their general a prisoner. As a result of this victory, the French, who occupied the Castle of Sant' Angelo, were obliged to deliver it to the Romans, who, irritated against the foreigners, dismantled the place and carried away the marbles and other valuable objects. Fortunately, Boniface IX restored that fortress, to which he added some outworks beyond the mausoleum of Adrian.

The schism would now have come to an end had not Queen Joanna given an asylum to the antipope. She had written to Saint Catharine that she would rather lose both kingdom and life than remain in schism, and she aided Clement.

As the Bolognese had revolted against the temporal delegates of Urban, Clement thought there was a good opportunity of bringing over that city to his side; but he was told in reply that, notwithstanding their revolt, they would remain faithful in their present obedience until it should be fully decided who was the true pontiff.

Urban made a second promotion of cardinals. It included one Bohemian, John Oczko, secretary to Charles IV and Bishop of Olmütz; and two Hungarians, Demetrius, ambassador to Rome from King Louis I, and Valentine, Bishop of Fünfkirchen (Five Churches), also ambassador to Urban from the same prince.

The pope, in 1380, ordered proceedings to commence against Joanna, Queen of Naples, and he declared her schismatic, heretical, and guilty of high treason. He deposed her, deprived her of the kingdom that she held in fief from the Holy See, and he invited to the possession of those states

Charles Durazzo, Prince of Hungary, son of the Count of Gaeta, and then a general in the service of Louis, King of Hungary, Jane's nearest relation.

Charles arrived in Rome in 1381. Having taken before Urban the oath of fidelity, he was raised to the rank of senator, and received the crown of the kingdom of Naples. The Holy Father advanced him eighty thousand golden crowns to enable him speedily to conquer the kingdom.

The new king ratified the gift made to Francis Prignani, nephew to the pope, of several provinces which his uncle had secured to him.

Charles Durazzo, having presented himself before Naples, experienced no resistance, and made prisoners of Queen Joanna and her husband, Otho of Brunswick. But as soon as Charles, who was styled Charles III, had taken possession of the kingdom, he refused to dismember it in favor of the nephew of Urban, and declared that it was unjust to do so, and a bad example to set before the other nephews of the pope. From this resulted wars between the king, who broke his word, and the pope, who had so much desire to aggrandize his family.

The gift of the pope to Prignani included the principality of Capua, the duchy of Amalfi, and the county of Caserto, with Fondi, Minervino, Altamura, Aversa, Gaeta, Capri, Sorrento, Nocera, Somma, and many other cities, as well as castles and fortresses. Amidst these possessions Naples remained isolated, almost blockaded by the sea, and it was not difficult to drive Charles III out, and thus almost entirely deprive him of the whole of the kingdom.

In the ember days of Advent, in the year 1381, Urban made a promotion of cardinals, among whom he included the archbishops of Cologne and of Treves, but both refused the dignity; most of the other cardinals belonged to Italy.

This time there was not one Frenchman—a very fitting ab-stention.

In 1382 the Romans, under various pretexts, revolted against the pope and the cardinals. The latter hid themselves in various places, but Urban, in full pontificals, courageously faced the populace. Carrying the cross in his hand, he looked so stern and angry that the revolted fell on their knees and asked pardon, which he granted.

However, Louis of Anjou, having been adopted by Queen Joanna, seized upon Provence.

Louis of Anjou, son of John, King of France, brother of Charles V, and regent of the kingdom at the commencement of the reign of Charles VI, threatened Charles III with a terrible vengeance because the latter had strangled Jane, whose states he occupied. Louis advanced towards Italy to reconquer the kingdom of Naples and to depose Urban.

The pontiff declared Louis and his abettors schismatics, apostates, sacrilegious, and guilty of treason to the pontifical majesty, and at the same time ordered a crusade against the army of Louis. The French prince ventured to enter the Abruzzi. Charles III, after evacuating Naples, commenced a defensive war, more prudent than that of Manfred and Conradine, and waited for the climate and the fevers to make the usual havoc in the ranks of the French. His anticipation was realized: Louis of Anjou died of disease at Bari on the 10th of October, 1384, and his army voluntarily disbanded.

The pope, who had previously thought right to go to Naples, was kept prisoner there by Charles; but after various vicissitudes they became reconciled. Unfortunately, the question still remained about the investitures that Urban had granted to his nephew Prignani.

Peter of Aragon, who had as yet seemed to be neutral between Urban and the antipope, sent ambassadors to Urban,

begging him to grant him the province of Naples, to exempt him from the annual tribute for Sardinia, and soliciting such a host of other favors as proved that his accession to Urban's side must be dearly paid for. But Urban refused all these conditions, and Peter, in a spirit of disappointment and vengeance, then declared against the legitimate pope.

The relations between Urban and Charles became more and more embittered every day. Then the king and some of the cardinals formed a conspiracy against Urban, who had retired to Nocera.

He had become odious to the cardinals, because he had exposed them to a thousand dangers, because he would not return to Rome, and because he refused to make peace with King Charles. On these grounds several abandoned him; others seemed to think that they could not yet quit him. Of these latter the Holy Father caused six to be arrested, on the charge of having conspired against him. It is affirmed that Cardinal Thomas Orsini revealed the conspiracy. The names of those arrested were Cardinal Gentil de Sangro, Louis of Venise, Adam Eston, Bartholomew, Archbishop of Genoa, John Doria, Archbishop of Corfu, and Marinus del Giudice, Archbishop of Tarento.

Urban blindly followed the counsels of his nephew Prignano. The latter demanded the deposition of the six cardinals, and had them put to the torture. Novaes fails to describe the frightful torments they endured, for it would be to confess that the fourteenth century was no less abominable than the tenth. The conspirators who were not in the power of Urban held him besieged in Nocera, where he obstinately defended himself. Being unexpectedly relieved, he wandered about for a long time in the kingdom of Naples, at Messina, at Corneto, and near Rome. At length he reached Genoa, having with him the six captive cardinals,

just as Richelieu afterwards proudly conducted his prisoners upon the Rhône. Prignani, who, in his frantic desire to reign, had occasioned so much mischief, was in the power of Charles, and that nephew could no longer be charged with the treatment endured by the six prisoners. At length those unfortunate cardinals, with the exception of the English cardinal, were put to death in their prison at Genoa. It seems that Cardinal Eston, so eminent for his piety and his learning, obtained his life, and at length his liberty, on the demand of Richard, King of England. Authors friendly to Urban have held that the other five cardinals only perished because their friends attempted to poison the pope.

At this time news was received of the death of Wyckliff, but the state of the Church forbade attention to any other events than those which immediately concerned her in the person of the pope himself.

The Genoese refusing some honors to him, Urban left their city and repaired to Lucca, and thence to Perugia, Tivoli, and Ferentino; and having no longer an asylum, he accepted the generous invitation of some Romans and repaired to Rome.

On arriving in that city, he ordered the jubilee to be reduced to thirty-three years, in memory of the years of the life of Jesus Christ, and that the next jubilee should be held in the year 1390. He instituted the festival of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin, become so celebrated, with the double rite; on the day following the octave of Saint John the Baptist, with vigil and octave, and the office composed by Cardinal Eston; and decreed that Corpus Christi might be celebrated, notwithstanding the interdict. He also granted an indulgence of a hundred days to all who accompany the Holy Viaticum from the church to the abode of the sick, and thence back to the church.

At length Urban enjoyed in Rome that peace which he had vainly sought in so many of the cities of Italy, and amidst the terrible vicissitudes of his disputed pontificate; but a violent poison was administered to him. He suffered frightful pains, and died on the 15th of October, 1389, aged seventy-two years. He had governed eleven years, six months, and eight days, in a time of schism, of a thousand objects of terror, and of horrors committed and retaliated. The right-minded now hoped that those evils would cease, as the motives that had produced them no longer existed. "But that disturbed state," says Novaes, "was still long to continue ere the faithful would fully recognize all the value of Catholic unity."

Urban was of low stature and corpulent; his dark countenance had a somewhat stern expression. It is conceded that he was an excellent writer on canonical science. The qualities of his heart may be considered under two aspects, as we learn from contemporary writers. Before his pontificate, he loved justice and the purity of language; he hated simony; he was favorable to the good, and unfavorable to the evil; he gave a good reception to the learned, and was fond of solitude. He was humble, pious, tractable, patient in his own adversity and compassionate of that of others.

It is urged that all those virtues disappeared when he attained the pontificate, and that, losing then all his advantages, he was assailed by imprudence, hardship, and haughtiness, especially caused by the facility with which he listened to flatterers and inconsiderate advisers.

His nephew, Francis Prignani, who, despairing of the life of his uncle, had taken refuge in the March of Ancona, where he had some castles, fell into the hands of his enemies, and was thrown into prison at Perugia. There, in order to regain his liberty, he surrendered his fiefs. Under the follow-

ing pontificate he went to Rome. Poor and abject, and finding himself despised by all, he went to Apulia. At the end of about six years he determined to go to Venice, and on the passage, during a terrible storm on the Adriatic, he perished miserably, together with his mother, his sons, and his servants.

With him ended the family of Urban, which had been so enriched by the favors of the pontiff.

The Holy See was vacant seventeen days.

The antipope, called Clement VII, was Robert, son of Amadeus, Count of Geneva, and of Matilda of Boulogne. The male line of that family ended with the Count Robert of whom we speak, and the county passed to the Count of Savoy.

Robert was lame from his birth, but otherwise enjoyed good health. He had at first been prothonotary of the Holy See, and then the forty-fourth Bishop of Terrouan, a see afterwards transferred to Boulogne; subsequently ecclesiastic of Cambray; and, finally, named by Gregory XI cardinal-priest of the Holy Apostles. The same pontiff created him, in 1376, legate and commandant of an army sent from Avignon into Italy.

He was thirty-six years old when he was named pope at Fondi by the eleven French cardinals and the Spanish cardinal De Luna, the enemy of Urban.

Although the French cardinals had seduced to them three of the four Italian cardinals who had remained faithful to Urban, by promising their votes to each of the three, yet the French cardinals gave their votes to no Italian cardinals, and did not oppose Clement, who was crowned on the 21st of September, in presence of Otho of Brunswick and of the ambassadors of Queen Jane. The ceremony took place six months after the election of Urban VI.

Clement, after the rout of an army which he had opposed to that of Urban, retired to Splonata, near Gaeta, and thence to Naples, where the queen received him with honors. But the Neapolitan people, better advised than their queen, would not lend themselves to the intrigues of an intruding pope. He was therefore obliged to retire to Gaeta, and thence to Avignon, which latter he entered on the 20th of June.

There he pretended to establish the Apostolic See, his claim to which was recognized by the countries already enumerated. After many wrongful proceedings instituted against Urban, he published decrees against that pontiff's successor, Boniface, and at the same time he crowned as King of Naples Louis, Duke of Anjou, son of the Anjou who had died in Apulia. Charles V, King of France, was present at that ceremony, and presented the basin to the celebrant, whose jurisdiction he had the misfortune to acknowledge.

While the doctors of the Sorbonne, among whom were then included Peter d'Ailly and other eminent personages, proposed, after the death of Urban, some means of putting an end to the schism, an endeavor which incensed Clement, that perverse prelate, after a schismatic government of fifteen years, eleven months, and twenty-eight days, died on the 16th of September, 1394, of an apoplexy caused by his anger at the opinions of the Sorbonne, and was buried in the cathedral of Avignon, whence, on the 17th of September, 1401, he was transferred to the church of the monastery of the Celestines, which he had founded.

Clement was of so unamiable a disposition that Saint Antoninus compares him to Herod and Nero. He is accused of sanguinary cruelty when he commanded the pontifical army. He was succeeded in the anti-papacy by Benedict XIII, who must not be confounded with Benedict XIII, the true pontiff, who was created in 1724.



BONIFACIUS · IX · PP · NEAPOLITANVS

BONIFACE IX—A.D. 1389

BONIFACE IX was originally named Pietro Tomazelli. He belonged to a poor but noble family of the city of Naples, the stem of which was the Cibo family of Genoa. Pietro was born at Carasanello, an old fief of his family. At first a canon of the cathedral of Naples, he went to Rome, where, by the purity of his morals and his attention to his duty, he gained the esteem and the confidence of Urban VI, who nominated him apostolic prothonotary, and in 1381 created him cardinal. Scarcely fifteen years before, Pietro went into Rome an exceedingly poor cleric, utterly destitute of resources. It is only at Rome that such changes of fortune occur.

He was thirty years old, according to Platina, Bury, and Tursellini; thirty-four according to Buoninsegni and Saint Antoninus; and forty-five according to some other writers, when he was elected pope, on the 2d of November, 1389, by fourteen cardinals of the party of Urban VI. He was crowned on the 9th of the same month.

A few weeks later, on the 10th of December, he created four cardinals; two were Neapolitans, one Paduan, and one Roman. One of the Neapolitans was Cosmo Migliorati, who succeeded Boniface under the name of Innocent VII.

In the same consistory the pope restored the hat to four cardinals who had been deposed by Urban; and among them was Adam Eston, Bishop of London, one of those who had been kept captive by Urban, and who owed his life to the courageous interference of Richard II, King of England.

Another cardinal whose hat was restored was named Pileo, of the family of the counts of Prota. He was born at Concordia, in Friuli, and was Bishop of Trevisa, of Padua, and of Ravenna. From that time he was surnamed *de tre capelli*—the thrice-hatted, because he had been made cardinal by Urban, who afterwards imprisoned him; by Clement, who, being master at Avignon, received Pileo when he escaped to that city. This hat, given by an intruder, did not satisfy Pileo, who declined it. The hat which he received from Boniface was the third, and from these circumstances he obtained his singular surname of the thrice-hatted.

In 1390 the Holy Father invited all bishops and princes to endeavor to put an end to the schism.

Soon after his accession he carefully considered the situation in Italy. Charles III, King of Naples, who had also caused himself to be named King of Hungary, had been poisoned on the 3d of June, 1386. His wife, Margaret, remained at Naples as regent for her son Ladislas, aged nineteen. But the nobility of the city gave its full confidence to a magistracy independent of the crown, under the name of the eight of *buon governo*, an aristocratic magistracy that disputed the authority of the queen. The opposite party had proclaimed as king Louis II, the son of Louis of Anjou, under the regency of his mother, Mary. Thus there were two minor kings and two regents, but of unequal degrees of legitimacy.

Boniface declared in favor of Ladislas, and caused him to be crowned King of Naples in the month of March, 1390. That prince, by an authentic act published at Gaeta on the 22d of March, declared that he had received his kingdom from the Holy Church, and he swore constantly to give aid to the Holy See against the antipope and the false cardinals. Moreover, the compacts were renewed that had been signed by Charles, his father, on revoking the donations made to

Urban's nephew, Prignani. The partisans of Louis of Anjou having taken up arms against Ladislas, the pope sent cavalry to his assistance, and endeavored to get the money necessary for him to keep up the war.

In the same year the pope celebrated the jubilee to which Urban had called the faithful. According to Thierry de Niem, a great number of pilgrims attended, but no Frenchmen, nor any of the inhabitants of any of the countries that acknowledged Clement.

The pope granted to some of the cities of Germany the power to enjoy the jubilee, on condition of visiting their churches and subscribing towards the restoration of the churches of Rome. Some offences were committed in the matter, and Boniface ordered the punishment of the guilty.

In 1391 the pope, learning that some Sicilians had sent aid to Louis of Anjou against Ladislas, King of Naples, ordered the archbishop of that island to excommunicate the supporters of Louis. Unfortunately, in England, the king's ministers, infected with the errors of Wyckliff, engaged their sovereign to renew the laws of the first two Edwards, which authorized the conferring of benefices and bishoprics without the sanction of the Holy See, and declared any one who appealed to Rome on the subject guilty of a *præmunire*. Boniface, by a diploma of the month of February in that year, 1391, annulled these laws, as well as others which were contrary to ecclesiastical liberty.

In the same year he canonized Saint Bridget, the foundress of the order called Saint Saviour, and gave the constitution of the new University of Ferrara. Subsequently, as that constitution did not appear to Clement XIV to be adapted to the new state of things, he reformed its statutes by a new constitution, published in 1771. The Ecclesiastical States were then ravaged by war, but Boniface, being a man of courage,

did not fail to find a prompt remedy, and endeavored to reduce the revolted to obedience.

The Perugians, weary of the divisions which so strongly animated the Beccarino and Raspanti parties, solicited Boniface to lend them the aid of his presence. He was at that time displeased with the Romans, whose caporioni had become insolent. He therefore resolved to comply with the request of the Perugians, and reconciled them to the Roman Church. The Raspanti had obtained, by the intercession of Boniface, permission to return to that city; but they showed themselves ungrateful. Boniface, leaving the two factions to their own devices, and learning that the Romans desired his return, because, as soon as the pontiff left that city, it was desolated by famine and murders, returned to Rome on the 15th of September in that year.

In 1394 Peter de Luna, a Spaniard, succeeded the antipope Robert. On that occasion Boniface endeavored to recall all the schismatics.

Incorrigible Rome was afflicted with new troubles. Some called for Louis, the rival of Ladislas; others were for a personal and local authority. Boniface summoned up all his great courage, and it may be affirmed that he was the first pope who exercised absolute temporal power in Rome and in the Patrimony of Saint Peter. He took away all usurped authority from the Romans, and declared that the government of the country belonged to the pontiffs; that the people should not at its own pleasure elect the magistrates, and that the *banderesi* were suppressed. He named as senator Malatesta, son of Pandolfo of Pesaro, a man distinguished for virtue and ability. He in great pomp restored the Castle of Sant' Angelo, which became a fortress, and which the Romans themselves had partially destroyed. To the mole he added imposing bulwarks, which were afterwards kept up

and added to by Nicholas V, Alexander VI, Pius IV, Urban VIII, Clement X, and Innocent XI. In addition, Boniface fortified the Capitol and the weaker portions of the pontifical palace.

Ladislas no longer held Naples, but the aid of the Holy Father enabled him to conquer a portion of the surrounding country. In those times it occasionally happened that the princes either awakened or encouraged in the bosoms of the popes an inclination to nepotism. Ladislas gave to the nephews of the Holy Father the county of Sora, with other territory, at the moment when the wreck of the family of Prignani, the nephew of Pope Urban, so miserably perished.

However, Peter de Luna, who had taken the name of Benedict XIII, had organized a conspiracy against Boniface. A faithless governor had promised to give up to Martin, King of Aragon, the city of Civita Vecchia for twelve thousand crowns, and the Count of Fondi undertook to make the pope prisoner on the appearance of Martin's army. But the conspiracy was discovered before it was executed.

In 1399 Boniface determined to punish Honorius, Count of Fondi, the principal abettor of the schism. He declared him guilty of apostasy, outrage upon the pontifical majesty, and rebellion.

In 1400 the Colonnas and Honorius Gaetani again attempted to seize the person of the pope, but the guards at the Capitol repulsed the rebels at their first attack. In the same year Boniface had the satisfaction to see Ladislas at length master of Naples and of the kingdom, and showing his affection for the Holy See.

In the following year the electors of the empire having deposed Ladislas, King of the Romans, and elected in his stead Robert, Duke of Bavaria, surnamed the Little, Boniface, in 1403, confirmed that election.

It is affirmed that Boniface established the perpetual annates, i.e., one year's revenue of each bishopric to be paid to the Roman court. Benedict XIII having written a letter to Boniface proposing means of reuniting the Universal Church, Boniface was greatly annoyed, because he knew that Peter de Luna was not sincere. Boniface was seized by a violent fever, and died on the 1st of October, 1404, after governing the Church fourteen years and eleven months.

This pontiff possessed distinguished qualities which made him worthy of his supreme ministry. With a handsome person, he had an imposing countenance; he was well skilled in the chants of the Church and in grammar, although little addicted to higher studies; he was affable, modest, able, prudent in temporal government, and courageous in defending his authority. Nevertheless, being but little acquainted with the peculiar style and business of the Roman court, he signed, without reading them, the replies sent by his ministers, and sometimes blindly decided in accordance with the reports of his officers.

The disastrous time in which he lived was the cause of his not attaining all the glory that might have been expected from such a great pontiff.

The necessity of intimidating the antipope and of recovering the maliciously usurped territories of the Church compelled him to seek money by every means. But it must be added that in this he was not urged by avarice, for at his death only one golden florin was found in his possession. Besides, he knew not how to resist the solicitations of his mother, brothers, and nephews, whom he enriched beyond measure. But the whole family, after the death of the pope, was reduced to beggary, that by their example (says Saint Antoninus) others might learn not to seek to enrich themselves at the expense of what belonged to the cross.

The Holy See was vacant fifteen days.

Benedict XIII, the antipope, Peter de Luna by real name, belonged to one of the most illustrious families of Aragon. He abandoned jurisprudence for the career of arms. After a few years he resumed his studies, and became professor of canon law in the University of Montpellier, archdeacon of Saragossa, and provost of Valencia.

On the 28th of September, 1394, he was elected at Avignon, to be opposed to Boniface IX, by twenty cardinals of the obedience of the false Clement VII.

On the 3d of October, Cardinal Guido, Bishop of Frascati, ordained him pope; on the following day he celebrated Mass, and was consecrated on the 11th, and crowned by the Cardinal-deacon Hugo, and afterwards made his solemn cavalcade in Avignon.

He several times swore that he would give peace to the Church by his renunciation if he should ever be elected. That promise blinded those who gave him their votes. His insincerity was soon discovered, as well as the tergiversations with which he tried to impose upon the ambassadors of Charles, King of France, who, in the year 1395, begged him to resign the pontifical insignia, in order that the Church might at length be restored to peace.

The kings of France, Castile, and Naples suspended obedience in 1398, but the French renewed it to him on the 28th of March, 1403, after keeping him imprisoned five years in the castle of Avignon. In the time of Gregory XII, Benedict again promised to resign, but did not. In 1407 the king sent ambassadors to him at Marseilles, where he then was, to entreat him to refuse the title of pope, assuring him that otherwise he would be abandoned by the whole kingdom. Benedict received that threat haughtily, and issued a bull excommunicating all who separated from his obedience. As the Sorbonne had published firm opinions on that subject, Benedict was unconcerned, and quite coolly beheld him-

self declared heretical, schismatic, and a disturber of the peace of Christendom. It was replied that he ought not to be called either pope or cardinal, and that he and all his abettors ought to be punished with all the severity of the canons.

France seemed determined to deal more sharply with him; a council was to be assembled at Pisa. Benedict escaped, first to Callioure and then to Perpignan. In 1408 he assembled a council of bishops of his party, who advised him to give peace to the Church by refusing the papacy. He gave fair words of promise to comply with that request, but he had not the courage to yield, and continued obstinate. Peter de Luna excited universal indignation. Gerson, punning upon his name, which is Latin for moon, said: "Nothing but an eclipse of the moon can give peace to the Church."

At length a council was convoked at Pisa, in which, in spite of themselves, Gregory XII and Benedict XIII were both deposed.

The persistency of the obstinate Benedict induced the Emperor Sigismund to make a journey to Spain to endeavor to obtain from the intruder the much-desired renunciation, but the prince was unsuccessful. In the Council of Constance Benedict was deposed, and deprived of all his grades, titles, honors, and dignities. He was also excommunicated as a scandalizer of the Church, a promoter of the old schism, a disturber of the universal peace, schismatic, heretic, and a pertinacious breaker of the article of faith, *Unam sanctam ecclesiam*.

He lost the friendship of all the princes, except Alphonso, King of Aragon. As a last blow, he was given up by Saint Vincent Ferrer, his former confessor and defender, who at last denounced him as a perfidious deceiver of God's people, and a perjurer, who deserved the contempt and indignation of the faithful.



INNOCENTIUS · VII · PP · SVLMO ·

Still, however, he had with him four cardinals, with a physician, and a Jew who had become a Catholic. Obstinate in the schism, Benedict died, in the ninetieth year of his age, on the 29th of November, 1424, at Peniscola.

He was a dangerous man, who braved six pontiffs and two councils. Bercastel allowed him virtues, but they were obscured by the thirst for greatness and the passion for governing.

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INNOCENT VII—A.D. 1404

INNOCENT VII (Cosmo Migliorati) belonged to a respectable but not important family of Sulmona, a city of the Abruzzi, in the kingdom of Naples. After being a notary at Capua, he went to Bologna to study law, and, having attended the lectures of the famous John de Lignano, was made a doctor. John, having been sent by the commune of Bologna on a mission to Urban VI, strongly recommended Migliorati to the pontiff, who, on ascertaining his virtues and talents, retained him in his service. The new retainer of the pope was named auditor of the Rota and then clerk of the chamber, and was sent to England as collector of the rents of the Roman Church. Returning to Rome in 1386, he obtained the bishopric of Bologna, but, the inhabitants of that city showing some resistance, Urban promoted him to the archbishopric of Ravenna. Boniface created him a cardinal and intrusted him with the most important affairs. On the 17th of October, 1404, Migliorati was elected pope by seven cardinals who had been in the obedience of the deceased pope.

On the 11th of November he was solemnly crowned, and on the same day he took possession of Saint John Lateran.

Ladislas, King of Naples, having learned that Innocent had promised to abdicate the pontificate if that was necessary to the putting an end to the schism, and fearing that at the conclusion of a general peace he would lose his own ill-secured crown, induced the pope to publish a constitution declaring that he would consent to no treaty of peace unless it were established as a preliminary that Ladislas should remain in peaceable possession of his State. This favor of the pope, which preferred private interest to the weal of the Church, could not be accepted by the French cardinals. Such a circumstance made it difficult, if not absolutely impossible, to put an end to the schism. It did not even prevent Ladislas, always alive to his own interests, from invading the properties of the Church and committing acts which Innocent endeavored mildly to reprove. In vain he remitted the tribute, many years due, from the kingdom, and even waived it for three years to come; these favors apparently only increased the perversity and ingratitude of Ladislas. While pretending personal regard for the pope, this prince aspired to rule absolutely in the Pontifical States. The Romans were excited by this revolt, long familiar to them, and their demands became so unreasonable that the pope one day said: "Do you wish also to wear our vestments?" He thus declared that he would sooner lose his pontificate than tolerate such insults as were offered him.

On the other hand, Alberic Barbiano, constable of Naples and feudatory of the Holy See, breaking his promise, suddenly occupied some portion of the territory of Bologna, and even endeavored to seize upon its capital. To repress the insolence of the constable, Innocent wrote to all the governors of the Ecclesiastical States, ordering that, on pain of

excommunication, no one should give assistance or encouragement to Barbiano, and that all the inhabitants should take up arms against him at the first call of the cardinal legate.

By the death of Francis Ordelaſſi, who left no children, Forli and Cesena, of which he was lord, returned to the Holy See.

When the cardinal legate, Balthazar Coscia, tried to take possession, he was opposed by some of the people of Forli, and thus new embarrassments sprang up to torment Innocent.

On the 12th of June the pope created eleven cardinals, six of whom were Romans. He hoped thus to increase his party in Rome and to destroy the influence of the faction sustained by Ladislas.

But this concession to the Romans did not quell the spirit of revolt. They endeavored to seize upon the Ponte Molle, over the Tiber, which was occupied by a detachment of the pontifical troops, but they were fortunately repulsed. After that check the Romans began to treat. Then occurred an accident which disturbed the pope's council and embittered the malcontents. At the moment when two of the seven governors of the city were returning from an audience given to them by the pope, Louis de Migliorati, nephew of Innocent, without the knowledge of the pope, seized the regents and the distinguished citizens who were with them, and ordered them to be put to death in his own palace. The Romans were scarcely informed of this perfidy, when the bell of the Capitol rang, and the citizens rushed to arms and imprisoned some of the most respectable ecclesiastics.

Innocent, relying but little upon the fidelity of Antonio Tomazelli, the commandant of the Castle of Sant' Angelo, who was in correspondence with Ladislas, thought fit to go

to Viterbo. While he was on his way thither, the heat was so oppressive that many persons in his suite died of thirst.

The pope remained in that city seven months, and was then recalled by the Romans, who, though always ready to revolt, were always brought to a better way of thinking by the sufferings which revolt always brought upon them. They bethought them of the indignation with which he deplored the crime of his nephew; but why had the pope a nephew?

The Holy Father, when thus recalled, consented to return. He had possession taken of the city, the Capitol, all the gates, and the Castle of Sant' Angelo, and then re-entered Rome.

Further hostilities having been committed, he excommunicated Ladislas and deprived him of the kingdom of Naples. The effect of that terrible chastisement was what might have been expected. Ladislas solicited his pardon. Innocent was a compound of kindness, sincerity, and benevolent credulity. He pardoned Ladislas, and thereby made the bad man worse than ever.

After governing two years and twenty-one days, Innocent died at Rome, of apoplexy, aged sixty-eight years, on the 6th of November, 1406. He was buried in the Vatican, in the chapel of Saint Thomas.

Innocent was tall, and one of those handsome Neapolitans such as are still seen. He was known to have great legal science, and was intimately acquainted with all the relations between the Holy See and Europe. But he could not well attend to them, embarrassed as he was by Ladislas and the turbulent Romans. He was everywhere praised for his affability, good nature, and piety, and for his patience in giving audience. He had a horror of haughtiness and of simony. He desired to do good to all. He so admirably united these



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qualities that he would have been an irreproachable pope, had such a prodigy been possible in such a time as that he lived in.

Innocent did not look upon the abdication of his throne with the same eye with which he looked upon it when Cardinal Migliorati. When he became pope, therefore, he believed that he could absolve the cardinal from the oaths he had taken in the conclave. Yet these oaths bound him to sacrifice, if necessary, his own greatness to the peace of the Church.

The Holy See remained vacant twenty-five days.

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GREGORY XII—A.D. 1406

GREGORY XII, originally Angelo Corrarò, was a patrician of Venice, of the family now known by the name of Correr. Angelo, famous as a theologian, and praised as such by Saint Antoninus, Leonard d'Arezzo, Biondi, and Sanders, at first a canon regular, became, in succession, Bishop of Venice, Bishop of Chalcis, in the Island of Negropont, and then titular Patriarch of Constantinople, still retaining the see of Chalcis.

In 1399 he was sent to Naples as pontifical nuncio by Boniface IX, to recall that city to its due obedience to King Ladislas, whom it had deserted to follow the party of the Count of Anjou.

Innocent VII had subsequently sent Angelo to the Marches as legate, and then, in 1405, named him cardinal-priest of Saint Mark. Fourteen cardinals who had adhered

to Innocent, and who were at Rome when that pontiff died, created Angelo Corraro pope, on the 1st of December, 1406. He was then nearly eighty years old, though Saint Antoninus and various other writers give him a less advanced age.

On the 19th of December he was solemnly crowned, and on the same day he took possession of Saint John Lateran.

When the cardinals entered the conclave on the 10th of November, they had well considered the evils of the Church, and subscribed an oath, already without effect, which bound each of them, if elected pope, to hold himself ready to renounce the pontificate, if his doing so could extinguish the schism and restore peace to the Church.

Gregory ratified the oath with such appearance of sincerity that he often said: "If for the union of the Church we should lack other means or horses to our carriage, we would walk staff in hand to establish that union; and if no galley could be had to take us across the sea for that purpose, we would take the first fishing-bark we could get."

Accordingly, on the tenth day of his pontificate, he wrote to the antipope Benedict, and to the cardinals who obeyed him, offering to lay down the pontificate if Benedict would do the same, in order that both colleges should unite and elect a single pontiff, thus extinguishing a pernicious schism.

On the other hand, the antipope Benedict, on the 31st of January, 1407, wrote a letter to Gregory full of sentiments of peace and concord. Benedict declared, however, that previous to laying down the pontificate he wished to meet Gregory in friendly conference. Gregory therefore sent nuncios to Marseilles to treat about the place, time, and etiquette; and on the 20th of April it was settled that Gregory and Benedict should meet at Savona, a city of the republic of Genoa. But the States of that republic were then in the power of France. At the latest, the meeting was to take

place on St. Nicholas' day, in the month of September, 1407. Gregory ratified that agreement on the 30th of July, and accordingly commenced his journey on the 9th of August. He proceeded to Viterbo and thence to Sienna, which he entered, surrounded by twelve cardinals, on the 4th of September. He was about to continue his journey, when events occurred which prevented him from leaving Sienna, where he remained till the end of the year 1407.

At the end of January, 1408, he went to Lucca, where he made a promotion of four cardinals. The events which had disquieted Gregory looked still darker. He had assured the possession of Naples to King Ladislas. That king, fearing that in the congress at Savona resolutions fatal to him might be adopted favorable to his rival, Louis of Anjou, excited disturbances in the Ecclesiastical States, hoping that he might succeed in seizing them. Then he advised Gregory to take the government of the Marches from Louis Migliorati. This perfidious advice being followed, Ladislas offered his support to the dispossessed governor, and thus indirectly aimed at getting possession of the Marches. He then put a Neapolitan garrison in Ascoli and Fermo and despatched a body of soldiers to Rome, who made a breach by razing a portion of the walls. Cardinal Annibaldeschi and Paul Orsini, who commanded in the name of Gregory, were obliged to consent to an occupation of the city. The language of the general led to the belief that the occupation would be but brief.

On the other hand, Gregory, while at Lucca, near to Savona, to which he was about to proceed, saw that the French were concentrating troops in the latter city, and that Benedict was trying to ensnare him. Between the embarrassments raised at Rome, and the entreaties of Benedict, who was well known as an inflexible Aragonese, Gregory could

not make up his mind to travel the short distance that separated Lucca and Savona, and he guarded himself and his cardinals with great vigilance. At length he determined to inform Benedict that, for many prudential reasons and for their mutual interest, the place of the congress must be changed.

Benedict, seeing that his designs were penetrated, addressed a reproachful letter to Gregory, and asked him why he had increased the number of his cardinals. Gregory had, in fact, engaged to create none, except in case of being required to do so by the necessity of making his cardinals equal in number to that of his adversaries. Unfortunately, he seemed to have forgotten that engagement. Among the cardinals who obeyed him were some old ones who did not love him, and he had therefore created some on whose fidelity he could rely. It was said that that creation did not contravene the oath and had been necessitated by the new state of affairs.

Moreover, those new cardinals passed for men whose merits made them worthy of that honor. The first of them was John de Domenico, since declared Blessed, son of Branchini, a Florentine artisan. Having entered the order of the Dominicans, he acquired immense renown for learning.

The second was Antoine Corraro, patrician of Venice and the pope's nephew, and one of the founders of the congregation of Saint George in Alga, who died in 1445, dean of the Sacred College.

The third new cardinal was Gabriel Condolmieri, a Venetian patrician. Nearly eighty years of age, Gregory more than others needed the solicitude of a relation. Pursued by rivals who were laying plots for him, he endeavored to aid his policy by Venetian experience, the Venetian policy being considered the most skilful in Italy.

The fourth new cardinal was James of Udine, in Friuli, whose family name has not been ascertained. From the

medical profession he passed to the ecclesiastical state. He died in 1410, at Rimini, leaving the reputation of a learned and profoundly religious man.

The old cardinals, irritated at the promotion which they could not prevent, promised each other not to recognize their new colleagues as true cardinals. On the 4th of May, Gregory having forbidden his whole Sacred College to have any communication with the French ambassadors at Lucca, the malcontents resolved to abandon the pope. The cardinal of Liège was the first to execute that fatal project. On the 11th of May he escaped from Lucca to Pisa. Pursued by Paul, a nephew of Gregory, the cardinal used such diligence that he could not be overtaken. On the 12th of May six other cardinals also fled.

Finding themselves in safety, they avowed, on the 31st of July, a resolution to constrain Gregory and the antipope to resign the pontificate.

Manifestoes were published on both sides. Those of the cardinals did not bear the calm character of fidelity, and of grief for the ills that afflicted the Church. The pope, in his turn, showed the injustice of those who had deserted him, and who accused him of being unwilling to restore peace to the Church. He did not refuse the medium of a council, on the eve of still more threatening troubles. He rightly maintained that the cardinals could not convoke that council. The election of the pope had been legitimate and canonical. Consequently, it was indubitable that it belonged only to the pope to convene general councils. He determined that he would convoke it to meet at a place in the patriarchate of Aquileia, to be named by the cardinals themselves. Finally, Gregory, in the most courteous terms, exhorted them to return to him, and promised them entire pardon of the past.

At that moment three other cardinals joined the malcon-

tents—Henry, Bishop of Frascati; Angelo, bearing the title of Saint Pudenziana; and Landolpho, bearing the title of Saint Nicholas in Carcere. The first two had been with the pope in Lucca; the third was at Perugia, of which he was governor.

Gregory, learning that the cardinals were about to assemble a council at Pisa, declared that it would be of no force, because the convoking cardinals were from that moment deposed from the cardinalate.

The antipope Benedict addressed a bull to Charles VI, King of France.

On the 14th of May, 1408, Sancho Lopez, watching the opportunity of finding the king unattended by any prince of the blood, presented, on the part of Benedict, a sealed letter to the king. It was addressed to the king, the princes of the blood, and to the members of the council.

On the 21st of May, Benedict received this reply: "Peter de Luna appears to be a schismatic, obstinate, and even heretical, a disturber of the peace and union of the Church. He ought no longer to be called Benedict, nor pope, nor cardinal, nor any other name of dignity, and no one ought to obey him." Benedict then thought best to hide his shame in Perpignan, on the frontier of Catalonia, where he pretended to assemble a council. Warned in time of that fact, Gregory felt his courage revive, but his position, on account of the desertion of the cardinals, was none the less painful. He had taken the road to Aquileia and had already reached the Marches. His friend Charles Malatesta sent him an express announcing that that road was not safe, as Cardinal Balthazar Coscia lay in wait to take him prisoner. At that news the pope took refuge in Sienna, and deprived Coscia of the government of Bologna, where he had constituted himself a kind of tyrant.

One misfortune often produces another. At Sienna, Gregory found himself obliged to create nine cardinals, in order to oppose them to those who were endeavoring to convene a council at Pisa. Only two of the new cardinals were Venetians. There were one English and one Pole, named Matthew Cracow, one Spaniard, and four Italians from various parts of the peninsula. One of the four was from Lucca, the city which had afforded the pope a generous asylum.

After a stay of three months at Sienna, Gregory departed for Rimini, where his friends the Malatestas, lords of the country, awaited him. From Rimini he sent the Bishop of Porto to Rupert of Bavaria, king of the Romans, to ask that prince to oppose the celebration of the Council of Pisa. During that time three of the dissenting cardinals departed, one to France, another to England, and the third to Germany. Their errand was to induce the sovereigns of those countries to repulse every solicitation that Gregory might make.

Notwithstanding the repugnance of the true pontiff, and the obstacles which he naturally raised, they commenced on the 25th of March, 1409, at Pisa, that council which the venerable Bellarmine says was neither approved nor reprobated.

After twenty-three sessions it ended on the 27th of August in the same year. There were present twenty-two cardinals of the two parties of Gregory XII and the antipope, the patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem, a hundred and eighty bishops, two hundred and eighty doctors, and three hundred regular prelates, besides the ambassadors of France, England, Portugal, Poland, Cyprus, and Bohemia. Rupert, King of Germany, sent ambassadors, but, not being satisfied with the replies to several doubts that he had expressed as to the legitimacy of the council, he withdrew them.

The cardinal of Pavia, the dean of both colleges, presided.

On the 5th of June, in the fifteenth session, the council deposed Gregory XII and the antipope who styled himself Benedict XIII, and on the 26th of June, in the nineteenth session, elected Alexander V.

The faithful flattered themselves that this would put an end to the schism, but they soon perceived their mistake. In fact, instead of the single pope they wanted, there were now three, for Gregory, Benedict, and Alexander were all treated as popes.

Gregory, relying upon the protection of King Rupert, at first thought of convoking a council at Cividale of Austria or Friuli, to oppose that of Pisa; and on the 6th of June he really held the first session of that council, still maintaining (and he was justified in his claim) that to the pontiff alone belonged the power legitimately to convoke a general council. But he could only assemble at Cividale a small number of prelates. Then, on the 6th of September, he, by a public document, promised to divest himself of the pontifical insignia if he who was called Alexander V and the pretended Benedict XIII would do the same; so that, by the creation of another, the schism would be terminated. To that end Gregory deputed Rupert, king of the Romans, Sigismund, King of Hungary, and Ladislas, King of Naples, to agree with the princes of the other party in the council in the choice of a place where another council should afterwards be assembled. For the same end Gregory sent legates into all Christendom; but very shortly afterwards, instead of obtaining what he desired, he found himself abandoned by the senate of Venice, by the Hungarians, and by the Bohemians. Thus he found himself in some personal danger when the Patriarch of Aquileia, whom he had deposed, tried to have him captured by armed men. Warned by friends, he put off his pontifical attire, and caused a man in

his retinue to assume it. The man was arrested, on the supposition that he was the pope. Accompanied by two secretaries, and vainly pursued by his enemies, Gregory arrived at the port to which Ladislas had sent galleys; thence he went to the Abruzzi, then to Ortona, Fondi, and, finally, Gaeta. The King of Naples, who, in appearance, had become faithful, impatiently awaited him there. But the fidelity of the king was more than doubtful. He hoped, by this mask of friendship, to obtain the domination of Rome, where the fugitive pope would have appeared less like a sovereign pontiff than a hopeless exile.

In 1410 Gregory despatched John, Archbishop of Riga, into the northern parts of Europe, to confirm those people in their obedience to him. He also created, as legate of the Marches, Angelo, cardinal of Saint Stephen in Monte Celio; and, by a letter of the 18th of November, having given the government of Fermo to Louis Migliorati, he declared him general of the army of the Church, and ordered him to act with the troops of Ladislas.

Gregory, still defended by Ladislas in the ramparts of Gaeta, published, it is affirmed, in 1411, according to the ritual and the customs of the Roman court, the bull entitled *In cœna Domini*, against heretics and schismatics. On that head he excommunicated, by name, Louis d'Anjou, calling himself King of Naples, Peter de Luna, antipope, and Balthazar Coscia, claiming to be John XXIII, as well as the cardinals who adhered to the latter.

In 1412, to support his adherents, who daily decreased in numbers, Gregory sent out several legates, especially into Germany, and published bulls, chiefly against those who molested the Margrave Hermann, who was constantly obedient to Gregory.

Subsequently Ladislas, who seemed to be still attached

to Gregory XII, yielded to the entreaties of John XXIII, and basely deserted the legitimate pope. Then Gregory, having learned that two Venetian vessels had chanced to run into Gaeta, went on board one of them, accompanied by his two nephews, Corraro and Condolmieri, and by Barbarigo; and at length reaching the Adriatic, he was able to get to Rimini, that old shelter which he had already found with his incorruptible friend Charles Malatesta.

John XXIII, elected instead of Alexander V, who only reigned ten months, having, in 1413, convoked the Council of Constance, Gregory was informed that if he really desired the union and the concord of the churches and of all Christendom, he and his cardinals were requested to be present at the council. The result showed that he really did desire that union and concord; but, fearing the plots of his enemies, who repaired to that council, he endeavored to show that it was assembled without legitimate authority, because he, Gregory, was the only true pastor of the Church. He complained of Sigismund, King of Hungary, who had recently embraced the party of John. He sent to that prince the cardinal of Ragusa, a Dominican, and the Patriarch of Constantinople, to show the justice of his cause; and he ordered the same cardinal of Ragusa to defend, in the council, the interests of the legitimate pontiff.

The cardinal arrived at Constance, and immediately put up before his palace the armorial bearings of Gregory; but the same night they were torn down. Proceedings were taken on that matter, and the decision was that the arms ought not to have been put up in a city which recognized John and not Gregory. This sufficed to show that the assembled bishops were little inclined to defend Gregory. Consequently the cardinal lost all hope of bringing them back to Gregory XII.

The cardinal knew that Sigismund was in the same mind. That monarch reproached Gregory for not going to Constance, saying that he ought to have done so in order to put an end to the schism in the Church. The pope replied that he had not refused to recognize the council, but that he blamed a congress which was convoked by John, who was not the successor of Saint Peter.

All these unfavorable circumstances being well understood, Gregory, who strongly desired the peace of the Church, wrote, in 1415, a letter in which he gave to the cardinal of Ragusa, and others in obedience to the true pope, full powers to declare in his name the Council of Constance a legitimate general council, but not as being convoked by Balthazar Coscia; and with the express condition that the said Balthazar should not preside there or even be present.

At length a constitution was published, in which it was declared that the Church had no longer more than one head, and that the faithful who had obeyed Gregory and John would recognize only that head. Gregory despatched from Rimini his plenipotentiary, Charles Malatesta, lord of many cities; and in the fourteenth session, on the 4th of July, 1415, by the said Malatesta, he renounced the pontificate and declared that Gregory XII would become Angelo Corraro again. Having learned what had taken place at Constance by his orders, Angelo became Gregory XII once more for a time, assembled a consistory, and appeared in it in his pontifical habit. He approved all that had been done by his locum tenens, Malatesta, laid down the tiara and other insignia of his dignity, and protested that he would never resume them. This took place at Rimini.

Malatesta, empowered to consummate that abdication at Constance, was placed there on a throne like that which would have been raised for Pope Gregory XII, and, after

having finished the declaration before the council, descended from the throne, and, no longer representing the pontiff, seated himself as an ordinary spectator.

The council then, to show its sense of Gregory's conduct, made him Bishop of Porto and perpetual legate of the Marches, and further recognized him as the dean of the Sacred College.

Moreover, all his former acts were confirmed, and a constitution was published stating that the determination of the council not to re-elect Gregory XII was no sign of depreciation of him, but had for its absolute and sole object the restoration of peace to the Church. The same constitution expressed that the things done by Gregory during his pontificate should never be brought against him, and that he should never be called upon to defend himself concerning them. Other honors were at the same time granted to him, which he only enjoyed for two years, for he was over ninety years old. He had governed the Church, up to his deposition at Pisa, two years, ten months, and three days, and, up to his free and true renunciation at Constance, eight years, seven months, and five days.

On the 4th of July, 1417, he died at Recanati, and was buried in the cathedral, where a tomb was raised for him. In 1623 that tomb was opened when repairs were being made in the church, and his body was found in preservation and still clad in the pontifical habit. He was endowed with a sanctity so sublime that Saint Antoninus, speaking of the constancy of that pope amidst so many adversities, compares him to the martyred Saint Stephen. To that sanctity, so worthy of admiration, Gregory XII joined learning, experience, and piety.

The vacancy of the Holy See after the renunciation continued twenty days.



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ALEXANDER V—A.D. 1409

ALEXANDER V, originally named Peter Philarchus, was born in the island of Candia. At an early age he became a Franciscan friar (he was the second pope of that order). He was sent to Oxford and to Paris to study philosophy and theology. He became so able that he was called "il doctor refulgido." From Paris he went into Lombardy, where John Galeas Visconti, lord of Milan, considering him a man of distinguished intellect and great learning, named him professor at Pavia, court theologian and privy councillor, and promised him further honors.

Peter was successively Bishop of Piacenza and of Vicenza, and Archbishop of Milan.

Visconti sent him to Bohemia to Wenceslas, to obtain from that prince the title and insignia of Duke of Milan, and at his death left him as guardian of his two minor sons. Innocent VII created Peter a cardinal on the 11th of July, 1405.

He was elected pope on the 16th of June, 1409, at the age of sixty, or, as some say, seventy, in the nineteenth session of the Council of Pisa, by twenty-three cardinals, of whom thirteen were of the Roman party, and ten of the party of Avignon. He was publicly crowned on the 7th of July in the cathedral of the city, whence he made the solemn cavalcade, thus imitating the possesso of Saint John Lateran.

In the same Council of Pisa, Alexander, for the peace of the Church, accepted and admitted into the Sacred College

nine cardinals who had been created in the unhappy times by the antipopes Clement VII and Benedict XIII. Alexander, finding himself recognized by the greater part of Christendom, applied himself to the task of recovering the States of the Church and expelling Ladislas. The Duke of Anjou promised on that subject his whole support to the pope, who gave him the title of King of Sicily, and made him gonfalonier (standard-bearer) of the Church.

From Pisa, Alexander went to Prato, and then to Pistoja. There he published a bull on the 25th of December, 1409, to prevent the progress in Bohemia of the errors of Wyckliff, which had been introduced there by John Huss. The pope was about to visit Rome, where the inhabitants only awaited his arrival to restore him all his authority; but Cardinal Coscia urged His Holiness first to visit Bologna. Alexander had scarcely reached the city when he fell sick, and he died on the 4th of March, 1410, after reigning ten months and eight days. He was interred in the church of the Conventual Franciscans.

He was a personage of great prudence, constantly mild and gentle, liberal to the poor, and distinguished by eminent qualities; an eloquent orator, a consummate theologian, and worthy of all the praise that numerous authors have bestowed upon him. The cardinals, on electing him, exclaimed that the Christian world would not fail to do them justice, as they could not possibly have made a better choice. Unfortunately, this pope shaped his measures too much according to the advice of the Cardinal Coscia, the same who succeeded him under the name of John XXIII.

Some bishoprics, abbeys, and benefices were imprudently distributed. As regards nepotism, this pope used to say that, being raised to the papacy, he had not been tempted to enrich his relations, inasmuch as he knew of none. His



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generosity often reduced him to a kind of distress; and, accordingly, he sometimes remarked: "We were a rich bishop, a poor cardinal, and now we are a mendicant pope."

The Holy See was vacant thirteen days.

JOHN XXIII—A.D. 1410

JOHN XXIII, originally named Balthazar Coscia, or Cossa, was born at Naples, and was son of John, Count of Traja and lord of Procida. After being archdeacon of Bologna, auditor of the Rota, and Bishop of Ischia, he was created cardinal in 1402. The conclave consisted of only sixteen cardinals, seven being absent. He was elected pope on the 7th of May, 1410. On the 24th of the same month he was ordained priest by the cardinal-bishop of Ostia, then consecrated in the Basilica of Saint Petrona, and afterwards crowned by the Cardinal Rinaldo Brancacci.

At the time of the election there were some prejudices against choosing him. He was said to have governed Bologna tyrannically and to have led a worldly life there. Saint Antoninus describes him as a person capable of great things in temporal affairs, a skilful politician, and an audacious and warlike man, who in his youth had even been a corsair; yet at the same time, as a priest, but ill calculated to make himself a reputation in spiritual affairs. It is certain that the two successors of Boniface—Innocent VII and Gregory XII—had much reason to complain of the conduct of Coscia, and Gregory had even deprived him of the purple, as having usurped a despotic authority at Bologna; but

Alexander V restored him the cardinalate and the legation of Bologna, and added that of the Marches and the presidency of some other provinces.

It was at this precise period that Rupert, King of the Romans, died. A successor had to be named. John wrote to the electors to induce them to name Sigismund of Luxemburg, King of Hungary, son of the Emperor Charles IV, and brother of Wenceslas. He was a prince of great prudence, firm, magnanimous, pious, liberal, well read, master of several languages, of good person and a majestic bearing. The city of Rome was again upon the point of falling into the hands of Ladislas, King of Naples. The pope, in 1411, resolved to go in person to the defence of his capital. He commenced by declaring that the kingdom of Naples rightfully belonged to Louis of Anjou, and he joined that prince to march upon Rome by way of Florence and Sienna. At length the pope appeared among the Romans in a sort of triumph, Louis of Anjou holding the bridle of the pontiff's horse. John, formerly a warrior, knew that celerity is sometimes necessary in military expeditions. He added to the army of Louis some troops commanded by Paul Orsini, general of the Church, by Francis Sforza and other famous captains, who, encountering Ladislas on the 19th of May, at Roccasecca, boldly dispersed his troops, and would have taken the throne from him, had they not been prevented from continuing the attack by their desire for plunder. On the other hand, on the 9th of December, John excommunicated Ladislas, deprived him of the kingdom of Naples and Jerusalem, released the Neapolitans from their oath of fidelity, and published against that prince a crusade to which he called nearly all the States of Europe.

Ladislas, pursued by his enemies, thought it time to abandon the cause of Gregory XII and submit to John. That

popes, contented with this victory, received Ladislas into his good graces, and by caprice, or in the desire to augment his own power, being tired of his relations with Louis of Anjou, he restored the kingdom of Naples to Ladislas, created him general of the Roman Church, and even furnished him with an immense sum of money. But Ladislas, who had already deceived so many popes, only sought to lead John into a snare. He secretly approached Rome, entered by breaching the walls, forced the pope to fly, and ravaged the city.

John then resorted to the power of Sigismund. The pontiff and that prince had an interview to consult upon the means of pacifying Christendom. They visited together Parma, Piacenza, and Cremona. In this last city, which had always been Guelph—that is to say, of the party sustained by the pope, the party that protected true liberty in Italy—the emperor, who was the head of the Ghibelline party, thought it advisable, in order to win that commune over to his interests, to grant privileges to Gambrino Fondolo, who had forced himself to be acknowledged as a kind of master there. The pope and the emperor had both ascended the tower of Cremona, whence all Lombardy and the majestic course of the Po could be seen. Gambrino Fondolo, who only by perfidy had obtained the sovereignty that he enjoyed, had for an instant the idea of hurling both pope and emperor from the top of the campanile, or bell-tower, and thus to cause in Christendom a sudden revolution, out of which he could obtain profit to himself. Eleven years afterwards, when that same tyrant was condemned, at Milan, to be beheaded, by order of the Duke Philippe Maria, he declared before his execution that he only regretted that he had been cowardly enough to abandon that idea.

The troubles of the Holy See were complete. Sigismund afterwards had the idea of referring the important affairs of

the Church to a council to be assembled at Constance. Some cardinals of the pope's party received from the emperor a communication stating that if John would go in person to Constance, he should there without opposition exert the supreme authority, receive all the honors due to the sovereign pontiff, and leave the city when he chose.

Ladislas died on the 8th of August, 1414. Italy enjoyed apparent calm.

Shortly after, John had the affliction of learning that in the marquisate of Misnia some heretics had been discovered, who called themselves the Brothers of the Cross, and pretended to base their doctrine upon a writing laid by angels at the foot of the altar of Saint Peter, at Rome, about the year 343, apparently in the time of Julius I.

John still feared to go to Constance, thinking that he would leave it not as pope but as a private person. However, stimulated by the entreaties of the cardinals and by the assurances given to him by Sigismund, he at length resolved to go. He entered Constance on horseback, attended by his court of nearly six hundred persons. He advanced sadly, like a victim adorned for the sacrifice.

By his own consent he opened the sixteenth general council, known as that of Constance, on the 5th of November, 1414. That solemn assembly lasted three and a half years. It was attended by about a thousand Fathers, among whom were twenty-nine cardinals, four patriarchs, and three hundred bishops. The Emperor Sigismund was present. All the princes of Europe had sent their ambassadors; and there were besides above thirty-two thousand persons drawn thither by the immense interest of the greatest event of the fifteenth century: for two popes renounced their authority; the third also retired, and a new one was elected who was recognized by all Christian nations.

The council had forty-five sessions. At the first two John XXIII presided. Pierre d'Ailly, cardinal of Cambrai, presided at the third; Jordan Orsini, cardinal of Albano, at the fourth and at the fifth. John de Brogni, cardinal of Viviers, presided at all the following sessions, until the election of Martin V in the forty-first. The last four were presided over by the new pope-elect. In that assembly the errors of Jerome of Prague and his disciple John Huss were proscribed. Some authors, even Catholics, have been of opinion that the condemnation of those sectaries, though substantially just, was perhaps too hasty and led to fatal consequences.

The Emperor Sigismund was accompanied by the Empress Barbara de Cilley, his wife; by Isabella, Queen of Bosnia; Rudolph, Elector of Saxony; Frederic, Burgrave of Nuremberg, afterwards Elector of Brandenburg; Louis, Count Palatine of the Rhine and Duke of Bavaria; the Archbishop of Mainz, and many other illustrious personages.

At the Mass which was celebrated by the pope on Christmas day, Sigismund, attired as a deacon and having a drawn sword in his hand, sang the gospel, "Exiit edictum a Cæsare Augusto"—"There went forth an edict from the Emperor Augustus"; and the Count de Cilley, the emperor's father-in-law, held in his hand the golden apple or imperial globe.

In the second session, held on the 2d of March, 1415, John swore to renounce the pontificate if Gregory XII and Benedict XIII did the same; he himself, after celebrating in the cathedral the Mass of the Holy Ghost, pronounced in the midst of that imposing assembly the oath. Having descended from the throne, he knelt before the altar, and with his hand upon his heart said: "Spondeo, voveo, et juro, Deo"—"I promise, Lord, and I swear to God." The emperor was

so touched by the humble and solemn tone of the pope that, rising suddenly from his throne and taking off his crown, he knelt at the feet of the pontiff to thank him, and manifested his joy at the generous resolution, as honorable for the pope as for the council. Unfortunately, that good resolution of John did not long continue. Some time afterwards he refused to give his sanction for the drawing up of the act of renunciation, pretending that he wished to make it in person.

Being then informed that he would be compelled to sign the power, and not doubting that he would be arrested, he fled in the disguise of a merchant, and with the aid of Frederic, Duke of Austria, who protected him. That prince, to favor the departure of John, gave a tournament against the Count de Cille, the brother-in-law of the emperor. In the confusion attending that kind of exhibition, the pope quitted Constance, and went to Schaffhausen, Laufenburg, and then to Freiburg. No one now knew who was the true pope. Fifty-five heads of accusation were drawn up against John, which had been read before him with all formality. Finally, the council pronounced the definitive sentence against him on the 25th of May, 1415—that is to say, five years and thirteen days after his elevation to the pontificate.

For the first time, then, a pope was suddenly deprived by those who had recognized him as supreme pontiff.

Such were the operations of the Council of Constance. The first personage in the Church was reduced to a private station and destined to the rigors of a prison. For, being stopped at Freiburg, he was betrayed by his protector and friend, the Duke Frederic, who cared only for his own interest. John, at the commencement of June, was sent prisoner to Heidelberg, escorted by the guards of Louis, Count Palatine and Duke of Bavaria, and thence to Munich, where for

four years he was strictly kept by Germans, who did not understand his language; neither did he understand theirs.

If John was guilty of the faults which have been charged against him, they deserved an eternal oblivion, for his humility and resignation when he heard his sentence sufficed to expiate those faults, as Bercastel remarks. Gregory XII, who, as we have stated in our sketch of him, had given to the cardinal of Ragusa and other cardinals the faculty to form a council of the assembly of Constance, in the fourteenth session, on the 4th of July, through the medium of his generous friend Charles Malatesta, lord of Rimini, published anew his voluntary renunciation of the pontificate, saying that he desired only the weal of the Church.

When the thirty-seventh session was held, on the 26th of June, 1417, Benedict XIII persevered in his obstinacy, although Sigismund had made the journey to persuade that antipope to renounce. Then he was deposed and excommunicated as obstinate, schismatical, and departed from the faith. After his deposition it was proposed that no one of the deposed should be chosen in the new election, so that the Church might be rendered more solid.

Great concord had always reigned in this council. It was divided into five chambers—the German, Italian, French, English, and Spanish. It was determined that for this single occasion the election of the head of the Church should be intrusted to a double college. One of these was formed of thirty deputies named by the five nations, six for each of them; the other of twenty-three cardinals of the three obediences. Those fifty-three electors were shut up together on the 7th of November, 1417, and on the 11th of that month they came forth and proclaimed their choice of Othò Colonna, cardinal of the title of Saint George. He took the name of the holy pontiff Martin of Todi, that angel of peace,

that courageous successor of the apostles, that deplorable victim of the fury of the Emperor Constantine II, and declared that he would be called Martin V.

Colonna had, in 1405, received from Innocent VII the cardinal's hat, and he had constantly shown his attachment to the pontiff up to the period of the Council of Pisa, when he embraced the cause of Alexander V and his legitimate successor John XXIII. The choice, then, had now fallen upon a cardinal who had shown the most attachment to the regular Church and the greatest aversion for the intruders.

The Council of Constance deemed all those measures requisite, and that it was necessary to depose the three pontiffs in order to cause the total extinction of the schism that those three pretensions to authority had fomented. And in doing this the Fathers remembered the ancient and holy times when those hundred African bishops agreed to abandon their episcopal sees to put an end to a schism of the Donatists.

In the following session of the Council of Constance, held under the new pontiff Martin, it was ordered that Balthazar Coscia, formerly known as John XXIII, should pass from the prison of the Duke of Bavaria into the hands of the ministers of the Holy See. Thirty thousand golden crowns were paid to that duke for the expenses of that imprisonment, and John was delivered to the care of the Bishop of Lübeck. But John escaped in 1419, and went to Florence and threw himself at the feet of Martin. He, a scion of the most illustrious of the princely houses of Italy, and made pontiff by a most magnificent and solemn election, entertained only sentiments of generosity, grandeur, and lofty ideals. He received John with marks of great tenderness and affability. Martin immediately created John Bishop of Frascati and dean of the Sacred College, and gave him a seat loftier than that of



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the other cardinals. But he did not long enjoy those honors. He died on the 22d of December, at Florence, and was interred in a sumptuous tomb in the Cathedral of Saint John, by his friend Cosmo de' Medici.

The Holy See was vacant, reckoning from his deposition to the election of Martin V, two years, five months, and eight days.

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MARTIN V—A.D. 1417

FOR the first time we see in the chair of Saint Peter a cardinal belonging to the house of Colonna, so often all-powerful at Rome. Its rival, the celebrated family of the Orsini, had given a pope in the person of Nicholas III, elected in 1277, and the predecessor of Martin IV.

Martin V, Otho Colonna, was born, according to some authors, in 1365. He studied canon law and other sciences at Perugia, and he was loved for his learning, integrity, mildness, affability, and modesty. He was called "the felicity of his time." Urban VI made him prothonotary and referendary; Boniface IX, auditor of the Rota and apostolic nuncio to the courts of Italy. Innocent VII created him cardinal-deacon of Saint George, vicar of Rome, and archpriest of the Basilica of the Lateran. John XXIII gave him the administration of the Patrimony of Saint Peter, of the duchy of Spoleto, and of the cities of Todi, Orvieto, Terni, and Amelia. In all those employments he showed rare prudence. In 1380 he was Archbishop of Urbino. Finally he was elected pontiff in the forty-first session of the Council of Constance, on the 11th of November, 1417.

It had been decided that, besides the twenty-three cardinals who were present, there should be an assemblage of thirty prelates, and that these cardinals and prelates should name a new pope, who should have the suffrages of two thirds of both colleges. They were within ten days to elect him whom they deemed the most worthy. On the third day they named Colonna.

As the pontiffs Marinus I and Marinus II were also popularly known under the name of Martin, and as the successor of Nicholas III was commonly called Martin IV, Colonna took the name of Martin V. Moreover, he was elected on Saint Martin's day, and he placed himself under the protection of that great saint.

On the 12th of November Martin was made deacon; on the 13th he received the priesthood; on the 14th he was consecrated bishop, and seven days later he was solemnly crowned. He then made the grand cavalcade in the city of Constance, to the cathedral church of Saint Augustine. The bridle of his horse was held on the right by the Emperor Sigismund, and on the left by Frederic, Marquis of Brandenburg and elector of the empire. At the close of the ceremony a dispute arose between the pope's servants and the burgomaster of the city, as to who should have the horse that had been ridden by the pope. Cancellieri says that it was adjudged to the burgomaster.

In the forty-third session, on the 22d of March, 1418, the pope revoked all the favors granted by the recent popes, from Gregory XI downward. He ordered that the bishoprics and benefices should be administered as they had been before Urban VI. He made numerous decisions on ecclesiastical discipline. Regarding the doctrines of John Huss, the pope repeated, by a bull of the 22d of February, 1418, that they were condemned. Huss taught that the bread and wine

existed, as such, after consecration. He believed that sacraments administered by ministers of the altar who were in a state of mortal sin were of no value. He admitted to the holy mysteries all laymen in the grace of God; he maintained that the Church ought not to have any temporal possessions, and that the order of the hierarchy should be altered, maintaining that all priests were equal, and that there was no difference between them and the pope, the cardinals, the archbishops, and the bishops.

On the 23d of April, in the forty-fifth session, the pope terminated the Council of Constance, which had lasted three years and nearly six months, and he approved its decrees concerning matters of faith. On this head Feller says:

“The first article of the bull against the Hussites is remarkable in making the pope require that a man suspected of heresy shall swear that he acknowledges the general councils, and especially that of Constance, representing the Universal Church, and admit that all that that council approved or condemned is to be approved or condemned.”

It seems a natural inference that Martin V approved the superiority of the councils over the popes, which was decided in the fourth and fifth sessions. But others maintain that Martin spoke only of the doctrinal decrees against the sectaries; and they rely upon an authentic document to serve as a monument to posterity, in which the pope solemnly declared in the last session “that he would inviolably hold and observe all that has been decreed, concluded, and determined, conciliariter, in matters of faith in the Council of Constance; that he approved and ratified all that had been thus done in matters of faith, but not aught done otherwise and in another manner.”

Ladislas, King of Poland, endeavored, by all the most efficacious means, to facilitate the reunion of the Greek and

Roman churches. Martin wrote to him in congratulation upon his zeal, confirmed the favors granted to him by other pontiffs, and declared him vicar-general of the Roman Church in his own States, with the especial charge to protect the evangelic light among the barbarians, and to invite the Greeks to return to the Holy See.

At the same time John, King of Portugal, not content with having taken the town of Ceuta, belonging to the Moors, resolved to war still more sharply upon them, in order to propagate the Christian faith. Martin, desirous of aiding him in his holy enterprise, urged all the Christian princes to share the dangers that John was about to run, and published a crusade against the Africans. Two years later the Portuguese fleets made their way to the East Indies. They first took the island of Madeira, and then coasted Africa to the Cape of Good Hope. They thus reached the Indies, which had not previously been visited from Europe by sea.

Martin, justly believing that these conquests would benefit religion, granted to the King of Portugal all the territories that should be discovered by his navigators from the mouth of the Black Sea to the extremities of the Indies.

All the business of the council being finished, the pope, in 1418, set out on his return to Italy, accompanied by twelve cardinals.

Martin embarked on the Rhine to go to Schaffhausen; he passed through Rome, Geneva, Susa, Turin, Pavia, and Milan. On the 7th of October he arrived at Mantua, where he remained till the end of the year. He continued his journey by Romagna, and stopped at Florence.

Martin had just terminated a difficult affair. John, Count of Foix, asked permission to marry Blanche, daughter of Charles, King of Navarre, who was sister to his former wife

Jane. It was his design to establish his race legitimately in the kingdom of Navarre, of which Blanche had become the heiress. Martin granted the dispensation, notwithstanding the degree of affinity. This clearly proves that Julius II, at a subsequent period, had a precedent for the dispensation which he granted to Henry VIII of England.

In gratitude to the Florentines for their welcome, Martin erected their bishopric into a metropolitan see; he at the same time confirmed the canonization of Saint Bridget, decreed in 1391 by Boniface IX, and confirmed in 1415 by John XXIII. Martin ordered this confirmation for the purpose of showing that Boniface and John were true popes. And thus, as Lambertini remarks, their legitimacy is well proven.

Martin's entrance into Rome was impatiently expected. The passage in which Platina gives the facts relating to that event is very touching:

“Martin, leaving Florence, at length arrived at Rome. The whole population and the princes hastened to meet him, as though he were no mere man, but as it were a saving star, or the sole father of the land. The Romans in their calendar still preserve the memory of that day, the tenth of the calends of October (September 22), 1421. The pope found Rome so devastated and wasted that the very form of a city was gone; everywhere were ruinous houses, temples overthrown, streets deserted, the whole city sunk in sloughs and oblivion, suffering from the scarcity and dearness of everything. What more can be said? No appearance of an inhabited place was to be seen; no indication of what constitutes a city. You would have taken all these citizens for mere denizens or immigrants of the vilest scum of the earth.”

Rome, on the arrival of Martin V, immediately assumed a new aspect. Money circulated abundantly, agriculture furnished its rich supplies, and strangers from all parts flowed

in. Pilgrims came to teach the inhabitants, for the most part cold and ungrateful, how much the popes should be loved. Moreover, wherever the pope resided, affairs soon connected that place with all the rest of the world.

Queen Jane knew that after her death the kingdom of Naples would remain under the authority of the Holy See. To avoid this, and to deprive the pope of his rights, she adopted the King of Aragon, who, she declared, was to succeed her as though he were a son.

Martin, on that subject, determined to defend Louis of Anjou, to whom he sent a reinforcement of cavalry. At the same time there was a continued propagation in Italy of the heresy of the Fratricelli, called also of the opinion, because they opined that John XXIII was deprived of the pontificate on account of the constitutions that he had decreed upon the poverty of Christ and his apostles. Martin deputed two cardinals to conduct the proceedings necessary to be taken against the sectaries.

Meanwhile the Hussites, under the leadership of Ziska, defended their heresies in Bohemia, and Martin invited the emperor and the electors of Germany to commence a war against them.

In the forty-fourth session of the Council of Constance it had been decreed that another general council should be celebrated. It was convoked at Pavia, where it opened on the 22d of June, 1423, three legates of the pope presiding. Shortly afterwards the plague appeared in that city; the council removed to Sienna, and commenced its business on the 21st of August. But the proceedings closed on the 26th of February, 1424, because the war prevented the bishops from going into Italy. Then another council was convoked at Bâle for the year 1431. In conformity to the law of Urban VI, Martin, in 1423, celebrated the jubilee of the holy

year. The pilgrims were not very numerous, on account of the wars involving Italy, France, and Germany.

We have seen that Jane II had adopted as her son the King of Aragon; but that prince having proved very culpably ungrateful, the queen revoked her act of adoption and for the King of Aragon substituted Louis of Anjou, so as to unite in the son of that latter prince the rights of the branches of Durazzo, both of which were issues of Charles of Anjou, brother to Saint Louis. This new adoption was approved by Martin, and in 1424 he confirmed Charles in the possession of the kingdom, of which he had been deprived in 1421.

The same year the pope forbade the cardinals to accept the title of protectors or patrons of kings or princes. In cases of their having already promised it, they were to renounce it, in order that they might be the more entirely free to advise the pope on all the business of the court. Alphonso, King of Aragon, irritated against the Holy Father, who had maintained his own rights, published an edict infringing the ecclesiastical immunities. In 1429 the pope was obliged severely to reprove the Archbishop of Canterbury. That prelate, arrogating to himself an authority which belonged solely to the Roman pontiff, had instituted in England a kind of jubilee, similar to that of the holy year, granting to those who within a given time should visit the cathedral church of Canterbury the same indulgences which were granted to the pilgrims visiting Rome at the time of the true jubilee.

Martin continued his apostolic labors: he had extinguished the heresies which ravaged Bohemia; he had pacified afflicted Italy, restored desolated Rome, and merited the title that was given to him, of "father of the country." He had governed thirteen years, three months, and nine days, when he died of apoplexy, at the age of sixty-three years, on the night

of the 19th to 20th of February, 1431. This pontiff was interred in a very beautiful bronze tomb in the middle of the Church of Saint John Lateran, before the altar where repose the heads of the holy apostles Peter and Paul. It is there that he is described as "the felicity of his time." He was worthy of that proud title, he to whom the Church owed the extinction of the schism, Italy repose, and Rome its complete restoration.

Martin was both a good man and a statesman. He was regretted after his death even by those who detested him in life. His affability, his prudence, his power to advise well, and his pure morality made him the first personage of that time. When an ecclesiastical dignity was to be conferred, he was an austere inquirer into the talent of the candidate. He granted powers only to those who deserved them. He was admired for his firmness, courage, and magnanimity in circumstances painful enough to quell the courage of most men. He had two brothers whom he tenderly loved, Antonio, Prince of Salerno, and Lorenzo. The same day he learned that one of them had died of the plague, and that the other had perished in an accidental fire in a tower. The pope, on hearing this fatal news, gave not the slightest indication of unguarded grief, but merely raised his eyes towards heaven, without uttering a word.

The Holy See remained vacant eleven days.

Under this reign there was an antipope called Clement VIII; his real name was Sancho de Muñoz. He was created by two cardinals whom Benedict XIII had invested with that title a day before his death. Clement voluntarily renounced the insignia of the papacy (because he was only recognized by the Aragonese) on the 20th of July, 1429, after four years and seven days of his anti-papacy. Then Martin created him Bishop of Majorca.

After that cession, which was confirmed by the Council of

Tortosa, the two false cardinals, and another that Clement had created in order to completely terminate the schism which had so long afflicted the Church, held an absurd conclave and elected Pope Martin V, who had already for twelve years been legitimate pope.

Another antipope is also mentioned, who called himself Benedict XIV.

John Carrière, according to Bercastel, one of the anti-cardinals of the antipope Benedict XIII, after acceding to the absurd creation of this pseudo Clement VIII, had retired to France. There, becoming aware of the intrigues that preceded and followed the election of Clement, he protested against that of Muñoz. And believing that he alone had the right to give a moderator to the Church, he had, on his own authority, named as pope a Frenchman, who took the title of Benedict XIV. This phantom of a sovereign pontiff speedily retired into obscurity. He is only known by a letter of Carrière to the Count d'Armagnac, and by a consultation that the count, scarcely detached from the schism, addressed on that point to the Maid of Orléans, who was regarded as a soul illuminated by the greatest favors of Heaven.

According to Du Molinet, it was only under the reign of Martin V, towards 1430, that medals began to be struck in honor of the pontiffs; or, rather, that custom, which had prevailed among certain Roman families, was revived in favor of personages who had reached the exalted position of the pontificate. In this species of artistic labor no one was more renowned than Victor Pisanello, of Verona, who was also a celebrated painter. He modelled in wax the features of Martin V. According to Paulus Jovius, he afterwards engraved them, and all the princes of that time wished to receive the same homage. Collections still preserve medals with this inscription, "Opus Pisani, Pictoris," and the por-

traits of Alphonso, King of Sicily, of John Palæologus, and of Francis Sforza. We are concerned here only with the medals struck in honor of Martin V.

The first that we know of as belonging to this pope has for exergue the words, "Martinus V, Columna, Pontifex Maximus." On the reverse is a column, surmounted by the two pontifical keys, interlaced. The Colonna family was originally from Parma. It had a column or pillar in its armorial bearings, whence it took the name of Colonna. Some historians say that the name was given to them because a cardinal of Saint Praxedes, of the same house, had brought from Palestine, in 1220, the column or pillar to which Jesus Christ had been bound by the Jews. A crown which surmounts the column was added in virtue of pontifical concession, because Stephen Colonna was appointed to place the diadem upon the head of an emperor consecrated at Rome in the time of one of the popes of Avignon.

The second medal has for exergue the words, "Optimo Pontifici"—"To the Most Excellent Pontiff," and represents Rome seated upon a buckler, having in one hand a balance and in the other a cornucopia. The author intended to express the pontiff's spirit of justice and the abundance which he introduced into impoverished Rome. Martin said to all the ministers to whom he intrusted a mission the memorable words: "Diligite justitiam, qui judicatis terram"—"Love justice, ye who judge the earth." On the reverse are the words: "Dirutas ac labentes Urbis Restaur. Ecclesias. Colvmnæ hujus firma Petra"—"He restored the churches of the city, which were falling into ruins, and was the keystone of the column." It is easy to perceive, in the field of the medal, the façade of the Church of the Holy Apostles, restored by Martin V.



EVGENIVS · III · PP · VENE ·

EUGENE IV—A.D. 1431

EUGENE IV (Gabriel Condolmieri) was a patrician of Venice, descended from a Pavian family that removed to the republic in its early days. During the war with the Genoese, Angelo Condolmieri and his son fitted out some vessels and defended the city of Venice. The senate thought it right to grant nobility to that part of the family which had rendered such services, but the rest of the family remained in the ranks of the people. Gabriel descended from the noble branch. His father was Angelo Condolmieri, and his mother Beriola Corraro. Angelo saw three of his nearest relatives in the pontificate: Gregory XII was his brother, Eugene IV his son, and Paul II son of his daughter Polyxena. Beriola, besides being sister, mother, and grandmother of three sovereign pontiffs, was also grandmother, aunt, and great-grandmother to nine cardinals, six patriarchs, and eleven bishops.

After his father's death Gabriel distributed to the poor twenty-five thousand ducats of his rich patrimony, and became canon of the Celestine congregation of Saint George in Alga. He was one day acting as janitor there, when a hermit said to him: "You will be a cardinal; then you will be pope for sixteen years" (he fell short of it only by ten days); "you will suffer many adversities, and then you will die." The pontificate was also promised to Eugene by another hermit. Gabriel was going to Egypt with Francis Fascani, and the hermit said to the latter, "You will be father of your country"; and to Gabriel he said, "You will be father of the whole Catholic world." Gregory XII, his uncle, named him

treasurer and Bishop of Sienna when he was only twenty-six years of age, but recalled him a year afterwards, learning that the Siennese desired to have a townsman for bishop.

In 1408 Gabriel was made cardinal-priest of Saint Clement. Martin V, in 1424, sent him as legate to the Marches, and then to Bologna.

After the funeral of Martin thirteen cardinals met in conclave at the convent of La Minerva, and on the following day unanimously elected Gabriel Condolmieri, aged forty-eight years. He announced that he would assume the name of Eugene IV. He was solemnly crowned on the steps of the Vatican Basilica on the 11th of March.

In that same year commenced the predicted adversities of the new pope. Three princes of the Colonna family seized upon the treasure amassed by Martin V, their uncle. This treasure had been destined to pay the expenses of the Greeks who were to come to the council to concert the definitive union of the two churches, and to meet the expenses of the war that was declared against the Turks. Those Colonnas used the money they had embezzled against the Holy Father, whom they endeavored to disturb in the possession of his dignity. At the head of other conspirators, they endeavored to seize upon Rome, but they were repulsed by the pontifical army, aided by troops sent by Florence to the aid of the pope. The Venetians also, on that occasion, lent their aid to their compatriot Gabriel. By degrees the Colonnas, returning to more honorable feelings, restored a part of the treasure; and the pope, who had excommunicated them, granted them the pardon they solicited.

One of the first cares of Eugene was to confirm the legation of Cardinal Julian Cesarini, deputed by Martin V to celebrate in his name, in the city of Bâle, the council which had been convoked there to humble the pride of the Hussites.

The Hussites were convinced, and very soon convinced the armies sent against them, that they were the avengers of Heaven and the scourge of God. A panic terror preceded their battalions and dispelled at their appearance the most formidable resistance. Many districts, appalled by the bravery of these fanatics, earnestly sought peace. The Bohemians, who did not aspire to dominating over the others and only wished for their own freedom, readily granted peace; but as soon as tidings of these involuntary treaties reached Rome, Eugene annulled them and commanded the renewal of an impracticable war; but time alone and better circumstances, which weaken the madness of a populace, could put a stop to such disasters. Sigismund, no longer knowing how from afar off to protect the Church, which was tormented in the very temple of Saint Peter, wrote that the calamities nearer at his hand detained him in Germany. Eugene was then attacked by the populace, who proclaimed again the fantastic republic of Rienzi. The pope, in disguise, escaped on board of a vessel, and sought shelter in Florence, while the pontifical provinces were at the mercy of the condottieri, Francis Sforza and Forte Braccio, who ravaged the States at the instigation of Philip-Mary Visconti. The latter was more than ever considered in Italy as the essentially evil principle of the Hussites.

The Council of Bâle (seventeenth general council) commenced on the 14th of July, 1431. Shortly afterwards the pope, for weighty reasons that supervened, ordered it to be suspended, and transferred two years later from Bâle to Bologna. The Fathers of Bâle resisted the decree, and continued in 1432 to deliberate as at first.

The next year Eugene was obliged to allow that council to continue, for fear of a new schism, and at the request of Sigismund, whom he crowned as emperor on the 31st of

May, 1433. After the ceremony the emperor held the pope's stirrup in the cavalcade for three paces, then mounted a horse and accompanied him to the Castle of Sant' Angelo, where he took leave of the pope; then his Majesty, on his way to the Palace of Saint John Lateran, stopped at the bridge of Sant' Angelo, where he created some knights.

Nicholas Forte Braccio, the condottiere, continued to vex the Romans with his exactions. They revolted, rightfully this time, for the yoke imposed by that ferocious leader had become intolerable. Duke Philip-Mary, tyrant of Milan, still cherished the project of seizing the person of the Holy Father, hoping thus to subjugate the city of Rome. To this end he employed Riccio, a Spaniard, whom Novaes calls a great architect of treasons; but the conspiracy failed.

Queen Jane being dead, the kingdom of Naples now belonged to the Holy See, not only on account of the agreement made with Charles I of Anjou, but also as the consequence of those which had been concluded with his successors, including Jane herself, the last of Charles's race.

Eugene then intrusted the government of the kingdom to Vitelleschi, Bishop of Recanati, and he warned the Neapolitans that they would have no other king than the one he should name, according to the old custom.

But the Neapolitans revolted against the orders of the pope. Some nobles called to the throne René, brother of Louis of Anjou, while others wanted for their master Alphonso, King of Aragon. The latter, accompanied by his brothers, John, King of Navarre, Henry, and Peter, laid siege to Gaeta. But the Duke of Milan having sent relief to the city, many of the Spanish princes were taken prisoners, but released without ransom by the duke. The Holy Father, under such circumstances, had to choose a king in order to bring those quarrels to an end.

He decided in favor of René of Anjou, but he was a prisoner to the Duke of Burgundy. Eugene wrote to that prince, begging him to restore René to liberty.

The misfortunes of Eugene had compelled him to approve what had been done by the Council of Bâle. That assemblage believed itself strong in this extorted consent, and it had already reckoned from the seventeenth session to the twenty-fifth when a discord broke out among the Fathers.

The question was as to the place at which to treat with the Greeks for the reunion of the two churches. The Greeks were not willing to go to Bâle; many of the Fathers desired that the council should be convoked at Florence or Udine, or in such other place as the Holy See should appoint. Others insisted on Bâle, and some advocated Avignon or some city of Savoy. Eugene ordered that the Council of Bâle should be transferred to Ferrara. The majority of the Fathers went thither, and the pope soon took that road, and with seventy-two bishops was present at the second session. Shortly afterwards the Emperor Palæologus arrived at Florence, and the council having removed thither, the pope entered that city on the 14th of January, 1439. There were one hundred and forty bishops debating in presence of the pope and of John Palæologus, accompanied by one of his brothers, Demetrius. A decree was published there for the union of the Greeks, and it was signed by the deputies of the Greek and Latin churches and by Palæologus himself. He signed, according to the Constantinopolitan custom, with red ink.

Scarcely had the Greeks returned to their own country, when, seduced by Mark, Bishop of Ephesus, who had refused to sign the decree, they returned to their first schism, which they adopted anew in 1445—that schism in which they still persevere, after having fifteen times been reconciled to the Latin Church.

The Council of Bâle continued, though, after the departure of the legate Cesarini, it had become a conciliabule. In 1438 Charles VII, King of France, published, in thirty-eight articles, the famous Pragmatic Sanction, drawn from the decrees of the conciliabule that Eugene had condemned.

In 1439 the few Fathers who had remained at Bâle—eleven bishops, seven abbots, and fourteen doctors, with the president, Louis Alamand, cardinal of Arles, who pretended to have been offended by Eugene (nevertheless, this cardinal was beatified by Clement VII)—declared, in the thirty-third session, as a truth of the faith, that the authority of the general council was superior to that of the sovereign pontiff. They presented various heads of accusation against Eugene, degraded him from the pontificate, and elected in his place Felix V. The good pontiff, in spite of that insult, retained his courage, and in 1440 he excommunicated the antipope and his abettors, and annulled all the senseless decisions given at Bâle after the legal removal of the council to Ferrara.

Eugene at this time created a great number of cardinals, among whom was Bessarion, born at Trebizond in 1395, monk of Saint Basil and Archbishop of Nice, who had accompanied John Palæologus to the Council of Ferrara, and who was created cardinal at the Council of Florence.

After the departure of the Greeks, Eugene found himself again in the Council of Florence, which terminated in its sixth session, on the 6th of April, 1442. He had published the famous decree by virtue of which he received into the Roman Church the Armenians, who had sent ambassadors to solicit that favor.

The Council of Florence was then removed to Rome, that it might have more authority. At that moment the pope received into communion the Abyssinians and their king, Con-

stantine Zara James, commonly called Prester John. The ambassadors of that prince, who announced that he had embraced the Catholic religion, were received by Eugene with especial benevolence.

Alphonso, King of Aragon, had seized upon Naples. For the sake of peace, Eugene gave him the investiture of that kingdom on the same conditions which had previously been subscribed by Charles I, Duke of Anjou, under Pope Clement IV.

In 1447 Eugene canonized Saint Nicholas of Tolentino, so called because he was born and lived in that city. Soon afterwards Eugene, worn out by the troubles of a stormy pontificate, fell sick. Before he died he renewed the condemnation of the last operations of the Council of Bâle. He ordered that his successor should be named in conformity to the laws of Gregory X, in the Council of Lyons, and of Clement V, in that of Vienne, and he exhorted the cardinals to elect a pontiff capable of maintaining the dignity of the Holy See. He died on the 23d of February, 1447, in the arms of Saint Antoninus, after governing, amidst the sharpest tribulations, fifteen years, eleven months, and twenty days. He had the honor of being the only pontiff to whom two emperors—one Greek and the other Latin—had come in order to acknowledge him as universal pastor. He was interred at the Vatican, beside the tomb of Eugene III.

Eugene IV was of lofty stature and of courageous spirit. He was remarked for his grave and melancholy countenance. He was not learned, but he excelled in the knowledge of history. In his palace he treated his relatives no better than other guests. In brief, Eugene was one of the greatest, and at the same time one of the least happy, of the popes. He gave free access to two Benedictine monks of the abbey of Florence, two Celestines, and a secular priest. He

liked them to be present when he supped, that they might tell him what was said about his government, in order, as he said, to alter his actions, if a feeling of justice required it.

In his last moments he is said to have exclaimed: "Gabriel, Gabriel, how much better would it have been had you been neither cardinal nor pope, but to have ended your days as you began them, quietly following, in your monastery, the rule of your order!"

He had the grief to see the progress of the Turks in Europe.

The Holy See was vacant ten days. Felix V, the last anti-pope, was previously known as Amadeus VIII, Duke of Savoy. He had governed his States with so much justice and prudence that the code of his laws, published in the year 1430, under the title of Statutes of Savoy, excited the admiration of Europe and obtained him the surname of the "Solomon of his age." Disgusted with the world, he abdicated power in favor of his eldest son, Duke Louis, and created his other son, Philip, Duke of Geneva. On the 7th of November, 1434, he retired to the hermitage of Ripaille, near the Lake of Geneva, where, with seven nobles of his court, he founded the military order of Saint Maurice.

Five years later, several of the bishops and others, who continued at Bâle the council which Eugene had ordered to remove to Ferrara, thought of electing Amadeus as head of the Church. According to Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, who, as clerk of the ceremonies, was present at the conclave of thirty-three electors who gave rise to the new schism, Amadeus obtained twenty-six votes to be antipope, although in three preceding ballotings sixteen electors had excluded him. The election, made on the 5th of November, 1439, was ratified and approved in the session of the 25th of that month. Twenty-two deputies conveyed to Ripaille the decree of his

election. His councillors made some difficulty in giving access to him; but the deputies were at length admitted, and asked his consent with so many arguments that, says Fleury, they persuaded him that he ought to take the government of the Church. Finally he, with great difficulty, consented, not without shedding many tears. He took the name of Felix V, and allowed himself to be saluted pope in the Church of Ripaille. On the following day he went to Thonon, in the Chablais, officiated as pope at the vigil of Christmas, and cut off his long beard, which was disliked by the multitude.

Accompanied by Louis, Duke of Savoy, and the Duke of Geneva, his two sons, and by three hundred gentlemen of their States, he made his solemn entrance into Bâle on the 24th of June, 1440. On the 24th of July he was consecrated bishop and crowned by the cardinal of Arles, who placed upon his head a tiara which Æneas Sylvius values at thirty thousand golden crowns.

Although, in various promotions, he created twenty-three cardinals, and although he was acknowledged by Switzerland, Savoy, Piedmont, and many of the universities, Felix V could never bring to his obedience the emperor, or the kings of France, England, Scotland, and Italy.

After the death of Eugene IV and the election of Nicholas V, the Emperor Frederic and all the princes of Germany renounced all communication with Felix. And, further, the emperor, by an edict of the 21st of April, 1447, ordered all the subjects of the empire to recognize Nicholas V as the only true and legitimate pope. The thunderbolt at once crushed the abettors of the schism, and from that moment Felix, who loved Catholic unity and peace, thought seriously of restoring them to the Church.

Louis, his son, unceasingly exhorted him frankly to put

that design into execution, and he at the same time exerted himself with the kings of France and England that that schism might be radically put an end to, without injury to the honor of his father or the fair fame of his house. Peace being on all sides wished for, an assembly was convoked at Lyons; and it was attended by the ambassadors of France, England, and Sicily, and the electors of Germany, and even by the ambassadors of Felix V, who were accompanied by the cardinal of Arles.

When all difficulties had been raised as to the conditions and mode of the renunciation of Felix, the King of France sent the result to Nicholas V, who, full of zeal, mildness, and true Christian charity, listened to the proposals of the eldest son of the Church. Subsequently, on the 9th of April, 1449, at Lausanne, Amadeus renounced the supreme pontificate which he had occupied, under the name of Felix V, for eight years, eight months, and fifteen days.

Nicholas V, by three bulls dated from Spoleto, released from censures those who had been assembled at Bâle, and afterwards at Lausanne, under the name of council general, and confirmed in their old benefices those who had adhered to that schism. At the same time the pope annulled all that had been written against Felix, the assembly of Bâle, and their adherents; the pontiff willing that the whole should be erased from the registers of Eugene IV, and that it should nevermore be mentioned.

Amadeus was also declared cardinal of Saint Sabina, dean of the Sacred College, and perpetual legate in Savoy. The pontifical insignia were also granted to him, with the exception of the fisherman's ring, the cross on the slippers, and other privileges inherent in the person of the sovereign pontiff.

Amadeus died in the odor of sanctity, at Geneva, on the



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7th of January, 1451. He was interred at Ripaille, whence he was removed to Turin.

Felix V dated his documents from Geneva. His bulls, to the number of about three thousand, collected in eight folio volumes, were presented, in the year 1754, to the King of Sardinia, Charles Emmanuel I, by the republic of Geneva.

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NICHOLAS V—A.D. 1447

NICHOLAS V (Thomas Parentucelli) was born in Sarzana, a city belonging to the republic of Genoa. His father was a physician. It is said that his mother reared poultry. But Æneas Piccolomini, who knew him at Bâle, says, on the contrary, that he was of a noble family. He took the clerical habit at an early age and received minor orders. At twelve years old he went to Bologna to study belles-lettres; but being unable to get any assistance from his mother, who had remarried, he, at eighteen, went to Florence and became tutor to the two sons of a patrician of that city. Returning to Bologna, he had the good fortune to be received with friendship among the honorary attendants of the Blessed Albergati, bishop of that city, who made him his majordomo, and whom he never afterwards left.

He was ordained priest at twenty-five, and, after filling several important embassies, he received the purple from Eugene IV. The faithful ambassador had succeeded in inducing the Germans to acknowledge the legitimate pope, to the great benefit of the affairs of the Church in Italy. Then

Thomas became Archbishop of Bologna. On the 4th of March, 1447, sixteen electors entered into the convent of La Minerva at Rome. The first door was kept by four prelates, and the second by Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, ambassador of the emperor. Cardinal Thomas harangued the cardinals on the election of a new pope, and on the 6th of March they elected himself. He was then forty-eight years of age.

In the first ballot, on the 5th of March, eight votes had been given for Cardinal Capranica, and ten for Cardinal Prosper Colonna; many of the cardinals were favorable to Prosper. He was said to be supported by several princes, and by the King of Aragon and Sicily, who was then in Sicily; other cardinals were in favor of Cardinal Lejeune; and the Portuguese Antonio Martius de Chaves was on the point of obtaining the tiara; but on the same day Prosper and other electors thought of the cardinal of Bologna. The new pontiff took the name of Nicholas out of veneration for the Blessed Nicholas Albergati, his generous benefactor, whom he had long served, and who had always predicted that he would be pope. On the 19th of March the pope was solemnly crowned in Saint Peter's; then, mounted on a white horse and having a golden rose in his hand, he went to take possession of the Church of Saint John Lateran, a ceremony not indicated in any previous "possesso." When Nicholas V received the reins of the pontificate, the Christian republic was suffering much. The schism of Bâle, not yet extinct, cruelly divided the Church. Germany and Holland groaned under their long domestic wars. France and England were never solidly at peace. The union of the Greeks with the Roman Church was beginning to dissolve. Italy, split into factions, could no longer resist the adventurers who ravaged all her provinces. In the Ecclesiastical

States the barons who had become vicars of the Church had become tyrants. The Venetians, the Genoese, and the Florentines were constantly in arms. Nicholas was anxious to find a remedy for so many evils, which from all parts were reported to him.

As the Infessura testifies, it was Nicholas who first introduced the custom of carrying the Blessed Sacrament in the procession of Corpus Christi. He himself carried it from Saint Peter's to the Castello gate. At the request of Henry, King of England, the pope permitted the extension of the Pragmatic Sanction as concerned the vacancy of churches and the collation of the bishoprics and of all other benefices in Normandy and Lower Brittany.

Cardinal Carvajal, legate in Germany, effected a concordat between the Holy See and the German nation. Justice was there done as to all complaints made to Eugene IV by the magnates of Germany, who complained of the expenses they incurred relating to ecclesiastical benefices. Eugene, when at the point of death, had granted the relief solicited by his ambassador Æneas Sylvius, stipulating, however, that it was to be without prejudice to the Holy See.

The concordat then signed was in full force at the commencement of the nineteenth century. On the occasion of that concordat, which established that, after the death of a bishop in Germany, the cathedral church should choose as his successor a suitable person, who should ask his confirmation from the Holy See, Frederic, Archbishop of Salzburg, feared that his right of electing and instituting his suffragans in various dioceses would thereby be suppressed. But the Holy Father, by a bull, declared that the concordat took away no advantages from the archbishops of Salzburg, who should enjoy all the rights that they had previously possessed.

In 1450 the pope celebrated the jubilee that he had announced in the preceding year, and visited all the stations with the cardinals. So great a number of pilgrims arrived that, unhappily, there were some deplorable accidents in crossing the Sant' Angelo bridge, and precautions were taken to prevent such disasters in future.

In a grand chapter of Franciscans, consisting of three thousand eight hundred friars, the pope, in presence of forty-four cardinals, canonized Saint Bernardine of Sienna, Minor Observantine. In the eulogium of the saint he was felicitated for having, by preaching, teaching, admonitions, and prayers, contributed to restore peace between the Guelphs and Ghibellines. This, one of the noblest triumphs of religion, was due to one of the sons of Saint Francis of Assisi. Amurath, Emperor of the Turks, was succeeded by Mahomet II, who immediately declared war against John, King of Cyprus. To obtain help for that monarch, Nicholas wrote most urgent letters to the King of the Romans, Frederic III, and to the kings of France, Poland, Sweden, Norway, Bohemia, Sicily, England, and Scotland, exhorting them to send troops into John's kingdom. He exhorted John to fortify Nicosia, and he granted a plenary indulgence to all the faithful in Europe who would aid that prince in his urgent distress. In this he followed the example of Pope Alexander II.

In 1452 Frederic III visited the pope, who sent, to meet the prince on Mount Marius, thirteen cardinals, many prelates, and all the clergy, forming a long procession. Already the Colonna, the Orsini, the other barons, the pope's guards, the vice-chamberlain, and the prefect of Rome, the senators, the conservators, the Roman citizens, and the pontifical court, had gone six miles farther to salute the prince and form his escort. Frederic III was accompanied by

Ladislás, King of Hungary and of Bohemia, a prince only twelve years old, remarkable for his great beauty; by Albert of Austria, brother of Frederic; by the Duke of Silesia; and by a crowd of nobles; making the number of the escort, including servants, amount to more than six thousand persons.

Everything was prepared for the coronation of Frederic, who was to receive the imperial sceptre.

On the 16th of May the pope placed on the head of Frederic the crown of the Lombards, which the prince had been prevented from receiving at Milan, owing to the seditious spirit of Francis Sforza, whom the King of the Romans would not confirm as duke. On the 18th the prince was crowned emperor, and Leonora of Portugal, his wife, was crowned empress. In the cavalcade the emperor held the pope's stirrup.

On the Sant' Angelo bridge the emperor created twenty-eight knights. In the evening the pope and the emperor completed the regulation of the Germanic concordat.

Nicholas still solicited the Greek princes not to raise obstacles to a definitive union of the churches, and to take all the necessary means to prevent there being, for the future, the slightest difference between a Greek Christian and a Latin Christian. The pope endeavored to make it clear to Constantine, son of Emmanuel Palæologus, that the Latin crusaders would more willingly give the necessary aid to Constantinople absolutely Catholic than to Constantinople endeavoring to keep up the schism and confiding in an independence which was purely delusive, an error, a very dangerous confusion of ideas, and almost a signal for imminent political destruction by the warlike soldiers and the audacity of Mahomet II.

The Greeks replied in ambiguous terms; but it was evident

that they still remembered the usurpation of those Latins who had made themselves kings of Constantinople. These latter had asked only for permission to pass into Asia, and as they passed had driven from the throne its legitimate masters. Under the new circumstances, argued the Greeks, we might obtain some efficient aid from the Latins; but those circumstances would but be a reason the more for their usurping our possessions again. There are faults which are punished late; there are perfidies which are uselessly repented, even after many centuries. The pope endeavored to explain the true situation of the Greeks, who, finally, could not defend themselves unaided.

Nicholas, like his predecessors, prophesied to Constantinople the misfortunes that were in store for it.

Mahomet II, the greatest Emperor of the Turks, marched upon Constantinople with a formidable army. The auxiliary troops of the pope, of the Venetians, and of Alphonso had scarcely arrived in the island of Negropont; there they learned that Constantinople was already occupied. That city, after fifty-seven days' siege, was taken on the 23d of May, 1453, precisely eleven hundred and twenty-three years and eighteen days after its dedication by Constantine the Great. The city was carried by assault, in spite of the prodigies of valor of John Justinian, a Genoese, who commanded two thousand trained foreigners. The Emperor Constantine XIII (Palæologus), surnamed Dragasus, was butchered, with forty thousand Christians. A great number of Italian merchants, especially Venetians, who inhabited that ancient capital of the East lost all their property by pillage and were reduced to captivity. The Turks, whose arrogance was redoubled, threatened to subject all the rest of Europe to the empire of the Crescent. That Greek Empire had for its last, as for its first emperor, a Constantine;

that is the only resemblance that can be traced between its beginning and its end.

The pope, overwhelmed with grief at such tidings, published a bull in which he invited the Christians to prosecute the war against the Turks more vigorously. He abandoned on his own account all the revenues of the Church, the tenths due to his treasury, and all the imposts of which he had the disposal.

With the help of all those reserves, and with the intervention of Alphonso of Aragon, King of Sicily, the pope was able to send a very considerable sum of money to George Scanderbeg, who gained several victories over the Turks in Epirus.

The pope gave a magnificent welcome to a host of men of letters who had been compelled to quit Constantinople, and who, bringing with them many of the works of the holy Fathers, increased in the West a love of Greek literature.

Petrarch, a hundred years before, because he read Virgil to Innocent VI, a pope little accustomed to the reading of profane authors, was looked upon as a misbeliever: under the pontificate of Nicholas V the Iliad and Odyssey of Homer were translated by Horatio Romano, by the express order of the pontiff. Part of these marvels has been attributed to Leo X; due justice must be done to Nicholas V. In 1449 to 1450, on account of the pestilence which was scourging Rome, he had to seek refuge in Fabriano, Spoleto, Assisi, and Tolentino. Even then he would have about him translators, booksellers, and binders, so that they should not be infected by the contagion, and that his noble zeal and magnificently liberal love of learning and the learned should not be fettered. Finally, the pope desired to do still more. He promised five thousand ducats to whomsoever should bring him the Gospel of Saint Matthew in Hebrew.

Under the reign of Nicholas, Poggio found the works of Quintilian in an old tower of the monastery of Saint Gall.

Nicholas may be considered as the most active founder of the Vatican Library.

This pope, though so good, great, and worthy of the tiara, yet had his enemies. Some Romans, headed by Stephen Porcaro, formed a conspiracy against him. Porcaro had received favors from the pope; but that Roman was insatiable, and he had the restless and riotous disposition of so many Romans who were ingrates to the popes. He was by nature bold, eloquent, and qualified to seduce the masses. Banished to Bologna, he secretly returned to Rome. He allowed himself to be selected to kill the pope and any of the cardinals whom he could attack. It was agreed that the crime should be committed during Mass. After the death of the pope, the cry of "Liberty!" was to be raised. Jacopo Lavagnoli, senator of Rome, discovered the conspiracy. Porcaro, to avoid arrest, took shelter with one of his sisters, and was for some time concealed in a chest. Being discovered and arrested, he was condemned to an ignominious death, which he suffered in the Castle of Sant' Angelo.

The pontiff, who had granted so many favors to the Romans, was deeply grieved by these things, and from that time suffered the most violent tortures of the gout, so that he could scarcely move. And still the thought of Constantinople subjected to the Crescent tormented him. The pain of his disease increased, until a fierce attack deprived him of life, on the 24th of March, 1455. Nicholas had governed the Church eight years and nineteen days. The memory of this pontiff will always be in benediction, because he was a prudent pastor of the Church. He restored peace in Italy and constantly kept himself free from nepotism. His liberality to the poor was immense. He sought out improv-

erished nobles who had lost their fortune from no odious prodigality and dissipation. He said that men of letters were his relations.

Public monuments erected in Rome and elsewhere; palaces, churches, bridges, and fortifications; the Greeks hospitably received, and poor nobles liberally relieved; maidens honorably given in marriage; benefices and trusts conferred solely on account of merit—all these things bear witness to the inclination of this pontiff towards the weal of the people, the interests of literature, and the glory of religion.

It is also affirmed that Nicholas was acquainted with the art of medicine. The *Biographie Universelle* says that the letters of indulgence which he granted to the kingdom of Cyprus, just before his death, form the most curious monument of typography known.

To establish still more strongly the obligation of the Church to Nicholas, we have to add the thought of beginning and finishing the basilica in a more magnificent form, and of erecting before the church the noble obelisk which Sixtus V transported thither more than a century later.

We learn from Manetti that this pope was of short stature and had a large mouth, loud, sonorous voice, and black eyes. As cardinal he enjoyed good health; when he became pope he grew weaker, and the multiplied cares of the pontificate reduced him to a state of suffering which every day became more intense.

It is affirmed that he was often moved to anger, but speedily checked himself and laughed at his own first feeling of irritation. This pope was interred at the Vatican. His funeral oration was pronounced the first day by Nicholas Palmieri, a Sicilian, a hermit of Saint Augustine, and then

Bishop of Catanzaro; and a second was pronounced by James, Bishop of Arras, of the blood royal of Portugal, afterwards created cardinal by Calixtus III.

The Holy See remained vacant fourteen days.

CALIXTUS III—A.D. 1455

CALIXTUS III, originally named Alphonso Borgia, belonged to one of the noblest families in Valencia, Spain. He was born on the 31st of December, 1378, at Xativa, an estate in the diocese of Valencia. Made canon of Lerida by the antipope Benedict XIII, he next became secretary to Alphonso, King of Aragon. Martin V, finding him governor of the Church of Majorca, raised him to the see of Valencia, his birthplace, in reward of his efforts to obtain the renunciation of the antipope Clement VIII. Eugene IV named Alphonso a cardinal and called him to Rome. Contrary to the expectation of the whole court, on the fifth day of the conclave he was elected pope by fifteen cardinals. He owed his election mainly to Bessarion, a Greek cardinal. It is known that the violent harangue of one of the college prevented the election of Bessarion himself. The dissatisfied cardinal was Alain de Celif, Archbishop of Avignon. His speech, the eloquence of which is disfigured by the vehemence of the accusation, was as follows: "Shall we give a Greek pope to the Latin Church? Shall we make a neophyte the supreme head? Bessarion has not yet shaven his beard, and shall we make him our



chief? How poor, then, must be our Latin Church, if we can find no worthy man in it, but must needs resort to a Greek, and to one, too, who but yesterday attacked the Roman faith! And because he has now returned, shall he be our master and the leader of the Christian army? Behold, such is the poverty of the Latin Church that she cannot find an apostolic sovereign without resorting to a Greek! Oh, Fathers! do what you think fit; but for myself and those who think with me, we will never consent to a Greek head of the Church!"

Doubtless Alain would not have thus spoken before the taking of Constantinople.

Bessarion, titular Patriarch of Constantinople and Archbishop of Nice, was born at Trebizond, about the year 1389. At the close of his early studies he ardently desired the union of the Greek Church with the Latin, and he engaged the Emperor Palæologus to consummate that wise and noble enterprise. He went to Italy, appeared at the Council of Ferrara, afterwards transferred to Florence, harangued the Fathers, and excited their admiration equally by his talents and his modesty. He spoke Latin correctly, with a slight Greek accent, which gave a charm to his pronunciation. Of his Latin speeches it was remarked: "They are Greek that is understood by Latins who do not understand Greek." The Greeks, remaining schismatic, conceived such an aversion for him that he was obliged to remain in Italy, where Eugene IV honored him with the purple in 1439. He then fixed his abode at Rome. His merits would have placed him in the pontifical chair but for that outburst of Alain just cited. Bessarion was afterwards employed in various legations, but that of France proved distasteful to him. It is said that, the legate having written upon the subject of his mission to the Duke of Burgundy previous to paying his

visit to Louis XI, that suspicious and stern king gave him a very bad reception, and, laying his hand on the legate's flowing beard, said to him: "Barbara Græca genus retinebant quod habere solebant." It is said that that affront grieved him so deeply that it caused his death on his way home, while passing through Ravenna.

Calixtus, elected at the age of seventy-seven, on the 8th of April, 1455, was crowned on the 20th.

In the same year, on the 8th of May, he declared that the treasurer and the clerks of the apostolic chamber, belonging to the family of the sovereign pontiff, were chaplains of His Holiness and of the Holy See.

On the 29th of June, 1455, the pope canonized Saint Vincent Ferrer, of the order of Saint Dominic, born at Valencia, in Spain, on the 23d of January, 1357, and who died 25th April, 1418, at Vannes, in Lower Brittany. He had converted to the Catholic Church twenty-five thousand Jews, and he traversed Europe, successfully propagating the Catholic faith.

Calixtus, while cardinal, had made a vow to continue the war against the Turks and to endeavor to recover the city of Constantinople and also that of Jerusalem.

In 1456 Mahomet, at the head of one hundred and fifty thousand Turks, attacked Belgrade, which had become the bulwark of Christianity. On the 6th of August, Hunyady, the governor of Transylvania, assisted by the Cardinal Carvajal, the pope's legate, and by Saint John Capistrano, a Franciscan, whose preachings had gathered an army of forty thousand fighting men, hurled themselves upon the Turks, with such impetuosity that they, with Mahomet himself, fled in haste; and had the Christian princes but seconded the views of the pontiff, the Turks would certainly have lost the empire of Constantinople and would not have conquered

Trebizond. Saint John Capistrano, in his account of that famous victory, calls Hunyady "the terror of the Turks" and the true defender of the Christians. In order to render piety more serviceable in the expedition against the Turks, Calixtus ordered that at noon, daily, the bells should be rung three times to warn the faithful to pray for the warriors engaged against the Turks. The faithful, therefore, recited at noon the Angelic Salutation. Lambertini states that the prayers of the Ave were said at morning, noon, and evening, and seems to be of opinion that the custom originated only in the sixteenth century, and by order of Francis Dupuy, prior of the Great Chartreuse, in France.

In 1458 Calixtus canonized Saint Rose, who was born at Viterbo, of poor parents. The feast of Saint Rose is still celebrated. Her body is miraculously preserved.

After many cares, sufferings, anxieties, and labors for the welfare of the Church, Calixtus, worn out with age and infirmity, died on the 6th of August, 1458, aged eighty. He had governed the Church three years, three months, and twenty-nine days.

He was interred in the Vatican. He left a treasure of a hundred and fifty thousand crowns, collected to support the efforts of the Christians against the Turks.

Calixtus was profoundly versed in canon and civil law. Although very old, he quoted the texts as though he had still been a professor. When his pontifical labors left him leisure, he read much, or had read to him historical works or canonical dissertations.

He displayed great firmness of character. It is related that the King of Aragon, to whose service he had been attached, and who still affected to rule Calixtus after he became pope, directed his ambassadors to ask on what terms the pope wished himself and the king to live. "Let him

govern his own States," replied the pope, "and leave me to govern the Church."

Like his predecessor, Nicholas V, Calixtus aided nobles reduced to poverty by no fault of their own.

The government of Calixtus is remarkable for an act of justice very acceptable to the French. It was he who empowered an ecclesiastical commission to revise the trial and sentence of the unfortunate Joan of Arc. That commission, by its sentence of the 7th of July, 1456, declared that she died "a martyr, in defence of her religion, her country, and her king." Calixtus did not canonize her, but he ordered religious expiations on the heroine's tomb at Rouen.

Calixtus had many virtues, but he is reproached with nepotism. In one day he gave the purple to two nephews who were unworthy of it. He made another nephew Duke of Spoleto, though there were serious reports to his prejudice. Nor was that all; he created that same nephew prefect of Rome and commandant of the Castle of Sant' Angelo. Nevertheless, the reign of this pope stands high in the annals of the Church.

According to most authors, the Holy See remained vacant twelve days.

PIUS II was originally named Æneas Sylvius Bartholomew Piccolomini. He was born on the 19th of October, 1405, and was son of Sylvius Piccolomini and Victoria Fortiguerra, nobles of Sienna. He was born at Corsignano, afterwards declared an episcopal city. Æneas,



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who was one of the ten children of Sylvius, studied at Sienna. Then, being obliged to leave on account of the war between the Siennese and the Florentines, he asked his father for some money for the journey. His father could give him only six crowns, obtained by the sale of a mule. Æneas first entered the service of Cardinal Capranica, who was a member of the Council of Bâle. But that cardinal was very soon reduced to great poverty, because his family could not send him any assistance, as they dared not resist the order of Eugene IV, who had prohibited them from sending anything to a rebel as long as he persisted in remaining at Bâle. Æneas obtained the same employment as secretary to the antipope Felix V and afterwards to Cardinal Albergati, legate in France. Later still he was chosen to draw up the apostolic briefs. Very soon he was named president of the tribunal of the faith in the same council, which had become a conciliabule; and he obtained letters accrediting him as legate, thrice to Strasburg, twice to Constance, and once each to Frankfort and Savoy. Successively he became secretary, councillor, and ambassador of the Emperor Frederic III, twice to Milan and Naples, and three times to Rome. Finally he went to Rome and confessed his fault to Eugene IV, and declared that he repented having formerly been among the warmest supporters of the conciliabule at Bâle and of the party of the antipope Felix. Eugene kindly pardoned him and made him his secretary. After the death of Eugene, Æneas was named one of the guardians of the conclave. Nicholas V, on obtaining the tiara, made Æneas his secretary, named him apostolic subdeacon, and ordered that, at his own coronation, the same secretary should carry the cross. Æneas at length was created Bishop of Trieste, and then of Sienna in 1456. That dignity was awarded to him in acknowledgment of the zeal that he had shown in a

negotiation in Sicily. At Naples he concluded the marriage of Leonora of Portugal with Frederic III. More than ever satisfied with the service of Æneas, Nicholas V sent him as nuncio to Austria, Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, and to three diets in Germany, where he was absolute arbiter.

Calixtus III, grateful for so many labors which had often brought that servant of the Holy See to the brink of the grave, resolved to raise Æneas to the purple, and he created him cardinal of Saint Sabina. At last, on the death of Calixtus, Æneas, after a ballot and an accesso, was elected pontiff on the 14th of August, 1458, the third day of the conclave.

It is a remarkable fact that, on the night before the election, the eighteen cardinals present had resolved to elect Cardinal d'Estouteville, a Frenchman of great ability, and in great consideration for his prudence, his nobility, and his immense wealth. But the merit of Piccolomini prevailed over all other considerations, and, notwithstanding his weak health, he was preferred to the French cardinal.

On this subject there were several prognostics, the first dating at the birth of Æneas. Victoria, his mother, on the night before his birth dreamed that she would give birth to a son with a mitre on his head. The second prognostic was that Æneas, when seven years old, while playing with his companions near the house of Saint Catharine, they created him pontiff, crowned him with a mitre composed of green leaves, and then kissed his feet. It was also said that when Æneas appeared before King Alphonso, at Naples, that prince, pointing to Æneas, said to his courtiers: "There is the Roman pontiff." Finally, it was rumored that, as the Emperor Frederic III was surveying Latium from the top of Mont Cimino, he called to the nuncio and said to him:

“Æneas, you will one day reign over all these places, and we who now command you will then be commanded by you.” All those tales, in which Novaes delights, are not yet finished. A cardinal, seeing at Rome the armorial bearings of Æneas (crescents on a cross, placed one, three, and one), exclaimed that Æneas would be pope, because he, the cardinal, had been told in Calabria that the future pope would bear those arms.

In all the conclaves similar predictions are mentioned; sensible men regard them as of but small consequence, but, as imaginative minds take them seriously, such dreams may be mentioned in this history.

On the 3d of September, Æneas, who had taken the name of Pius II, was crowned in the Basilica of the Vatican.

On the same day he took possession of Saint John Lateran. But he ran some danger from the sham fights, with drawn swords, of some soldiers in front of his horse, which they wanted to appropriate, according to custom, as soon as he alighted. This diversion was not very becoming in presence of a pontiff who prohibited tournaments. In the tournaments there were at least some regulations; the laws of the field were known, and the career was not commenced until the signal was given. Fighting around a horse, that the greed of each combatant wished to appropriate, might degenerate into violence and trickery, and lead to serious disorders, especially as time was scarcely given to the pontiff to enter the palace and avoid the blows of which the innocent animal was sometimes the victim before it fell to the lot of an undisputed conqueror.

However, those were times of a magnificence which is not witnessed now. On ascending the steps of the Vatican, the pontiff invited the cardinals, ambassadors, and grandees of Rome to a sumptuous banquet. The chief of the ambas-

sadors from the Florentines was Saint Antoninus, who delivered an elegant discourse, which he afterwards appended to his Chronicle, divided into three parts. Among the ambassadors sent by the princes were especially distinguished those of Ferdinand, King of Aragon, illegitimate son of King Alphonso, who had formerly been the intimate friend of Æneas, and whom we have seen among those who prognosticated the future greatness of the apostolic nuncio.

When in the former reign questions arose as to the succession of Naples, Calixtus had deprived Ferdinand of that heritage, declaring that Rome rightfully inherited that kingdom by the terms of the ancient concessions. Pius annulled the decree of Calixtus, invested Ferdinand with that kingdom, removed the interdict which had been pronounced against all who should remain faithful to the son of Alphonso, and restored him to all his rights, imposing upon him, however, a tribute of eight thousand ounces of gold and a palfrey. The conditions, also, were removed which had been prescribed to Charles of Anjou when he received the kingdom in fief.

Calixtus had shown great anxiety to engage the princes to make war against the Turks; and Pius, when he had become pope, showed no less zeal against the common enemy.

The pope ordered a solemn congress to assemble at Mantua, at which were to be present the ambassadors of Italy and of all the Christian kingdoms. In that congress means were discussed for organizing a war advantageous to the interests of religion. Pius said: "Such a war does not concern merely this or that particular kingdom; it is an enterprise which concerns the totality of the Christian republic."

It was at that precise period that the same pope founded a military order of knights, under the title of Knights of Saint Mary of Bethlehem. They swore to defend Lemnos

and the other isles of the Ægean Sea, and to war upon the Turks as the Knights of Jerusalem.

A great portion of the preparations agreed upon by the congress was finished. Then the pope, regardless of the coldness of the season, of the attacks of gout to which he was subject, and of the melancholy presages which he heard around him, set out for Mantua on the 22d of January, 1459. He left as legate at Rome, during his absence, Cardinal de Cusa, and as governor and prefect, Prince Colonna. They were assisted by other cardinals, by the auditors of the Rota, and by many prelates to form the Roman court ad interim.

At Perugia a pope had not been seen for seventy years. Pius remained there three weeks and dedicated the noble temple to Saint Dominic. Then he went to Corsignano, his native place, where he may have thought of the homage paid to him in 1412 by his young playmates. There he celebrated the feast of St. Peter's Chair.

He arrived on the 25th of February in the city of Sienna, and gave it Radicofani, which belonged to the Church. The gift was not recalled by any pontiff. Sienna was made a metropolis.

In the same city the pope pronounced a solemn discourse on the fourth Sunday in Lent, blessed the golden rose, and presented it to the Siennese senate.

On the 25th of April he entered Florence. Cosmo de' Medici, regent of that republic, received His Holiness with a royal splendor. He was the wealthiest and most honorable citizen of that time. Pius, after giving audience to some ambassadors from various parts of the world, departed, on the 5th of May, for Bologna, which he entered on the 9th. The principal nobles of the city volunteered to carry him themselves in a kind of decorated litter, called the sedia

gestatoria. He next visited Ferrara. There Borso d'Este, the feudatory, presented himself before the pope, and preceded him on foot until expressly permitted to mount a horse. That honor was granted to him because he was related to the pope, as being the son of Stella Tolomei, a Siennese lady whose family was closely connected with that of the Piccolomini.

On the 27th of May Pius made a triumphal entry into Mantua. He now sought for nothing but the means of organizing the crusaders and hastening their departure. The Turk was daily becoming more formidable; he was continually subjugating cities in the East. Then a decision of the congress was made public. It ordered that for that holy war there should be paid during three years, by clerics, the tenth part of their revenues, by the laity the thirtieth, and by the Jews the twentieth. Many populations promised to add further sacrifices to sacrifices already onerous. Among those who did so were the Florentines, the Siennese, the Ragusans, the Genoese, and the Rhodians, subjects of the order of Saint John of Jerusalem. The Bolognese also announced that they would generously contribute.

Pius, by a bull of the 15th of January, 1460, made the determination of the congress known to the whole world.

Notwithstanding the good will of the pope, those succors were not punctually given, partly on account of the war which had broken out between the French and English, partly on account of the differences which arose at Naples between King Ferdinand of Aragon, so greatly patronized by the pope, and John, Duke of Anjou, son of King René, and partly on account of the embarrassments caused in the Ecclesiastical States by the Manfredi and the Malatesta.

Then appeared another bull, in which it was forbidden to appeal from the pope to a future council. Such appeals were

declared to be abusive, erroneous, and deserving of condemnation.

On the 5th of March, 1460, Pius made a promotion of cardinals.

Meantime Sigismund, Duke of Austria, had arrested, in the castle of Bruneck, Cardinal de Cusa, in consequence of some differences as to ecclesiastical rights. On the 8th of August the Holy Father excommunicated Sigismund and his accomplices, by virtue of a constitution since introduced by Gregory XIII and by Paul V into the bull *In cœna Domini*. Pius repeated the prohibition to appeal from the pope to a future council, after the example of Sigismund. The same pope condemned appellants as guilty of heresy and high treason.

The Holy Father, having returned to Rome in 1461, solemnly canonized Saint Catharine of Sienna, of the order of Saint Dominic. She was born in the quarter of Fontebranda, in 1347, the daughter of Jacope Benincasa, by trade a dyer, and she died at Rome, aged thirty-three, on the 29th of April, 1380. Urban VI, Innocent VII, and Gregory XII had desired to canonize her, but could not do so on account of the schism.

Meanwhile, Mahomet II, in spite of the exertions of the Knights of Bethlehem, of whom we spoke just now, had occupied the isles of Lemnos and Lesbos, which, in the reign of Calixtus III, the Christians had reconquered. The Turks had also seized upon the isle of Negropont. The holy Fathers received with great kindness Thomas Palæologus (despot), Prince of the Morea, and brother of Constantine Palæologus, the last of the Greek emperors. Thomas was at Rome on the fourth Sunday of Lent; the pope blessed the golden rose and presented it to that prince. Thomas then presented to the pope the head of the apostle Saint Andrew, which he had

brought from the Peloponnesus. His Holiness placed it with great pomp on the altar of Saint Gregory the Great, at the Vatican.

At the death of Charles VII, on the 22d of July, 1461, Pius II demanded from that prince's successor, Louis XI, the revocation of the Pragmatic Sanction. The new king denounced it as being "born in the bosom of the schism, and destructive of the right and authority of the sovereign pontiff, from which authority all other is derived." This news was very joyfully hailed at Rome; but after the death of Pius the Pragmatic was re-established. This controversy, which the popes held in horror as directly resulting from a schism, and upon which they had disputed with the kings of France for seventy years, was terminated only in 1515, by the concordat concluded between France and Leo X, as we shall show in our life of that pontiff.

In 1462 the city of Rome was ravaged by a violent pestilence. The pope set out for the baths of Viterbo (the sulphurous baths of Bulicamo), but, as there were traces of contagion there too, he went to Bolsena, and thence to Corsignano, his native place, which he was always glad to revisit, and where he had established a bishopric, at the same time giving to the city the name of Pienza, derived from the name of Pius.

For a long time the pope had felt remorse because he had formerly approved doctrines contrary to the customs and rights of the Holy See. He decided to sign, on the 26th of April, 1463, a constitution by which he annulled all that he had published in favor of the conciliabule of Bâle, against Eugene IV and the authority of the Roman Church. He exhorted all to reject the false doctrines he had approved as *Æneas* and to accept those he had indorsed as pontiff.

Previously, in a letter addressed to Jordan, rector of the

University of Cologne, dated 13th of August, 1447, Pius, while he was Bishop of Trieste, that is to say, nine years before he became cardinal and eleven years before he became pope, had positively retracted all opinions contrary to the sentiments and prerogatives of Rome.

The pope also annulled all the preliminaries agreed upon between the legates of the Council of Bâle and the Bohemians, by virtue of which the Bohemians renounced all the erroneous articles, except communion under both kinds, which the false council approved. There then arose a dissension between the Dominicans and the Franciscans, relative to the blood of Jesus Christ shed during the Passion. The Dominicans had on their side the opinion of many learned men, and especially that of the pope. The dispute grew warm. Pius enjoined on the dissidents "a strict and perpetual silence on that point."

Amidst the anxious cares to allow no abuse to escape his attention, Pius did not lose sight of the threats of Mahomet II. He had conquered the empire of Trebizond, after expelling from it the house of Comnenus, which had established itself there in 1204. The insatiable Turk had also invaded the kingdom of Bosnia, and ordered its fifth and last king, Stephen, to be flayed alive.

The pope thought fit to write to Mahomet himself a letter, in which he conjured him to act more gently towards the Christians, and also exhorted him to embrace the Christian religion. "Thus," said the pope, "you will be legitimately Emperor of the East." But the barbarian was by that only rendered more cruel, and he turned all his fury against the Ragusans. A holy war, according to the terms of the decision of the Congress of Mantua, was proclaimed by a bull of the 23d of October, 1463. The pope published the treaty which he had concluded with Philip, Duke of Burgundy, and

Christopher Moro, doge of Venice. Cardinal Fortiguerra, a relation of His Holiness, was named general of the galleys which the pope had built at Pisa, and which he was to take to Ancona, whither the pope went by land, in order to sail, if necessary, to the Levant. But money was wanting. That obstacle was soon removed. The pope devoted to the expenses of the war the product of the alum mines which had recently been discovered in the mountain of La Tolfa, near Civita Vecchia.

The pope hoped that the doge of Venice would furnish still more aid than he had promised; and subsidies were also expected from other Italian princes. Cardinal Roderic Borgia, who was very wealthy, had alone promised to furnish a galley equipped at his own expense.

A multitude of other letters, briefs, supplications, orders, and entreaties went forth at the same time from the Vatican, addressed to various countries. It was necessary to consider the arrangements necessary to the firm administration of the government during the absence of the pope. Before he left the city, all measures were taken to secure the complete provisioning of Rome and the undisturbed continuance of public tranquillity. On leaving the Vatican, the pope went to pray in Saint Peter's; then he made an affecting address to the cardinals, and proceeded in a litter as far as the Ponte Molle, where he embarked on the Tiber, which was more navigable in that part then than it is now. It was imprudent thus to embark on the Tiber in the month of June. The fever which prevails along the banks of the river began to torment the Holy Father; but he persisted in concealing it, lest his physicians should make him turn back. Moreover, could he not go forward by land? This method satisfied the pious wishes of the Holy Father and the tender solicitude of his subjects.

Having, without quitting the Tiber, arrived at Fiano, the pope went to the monastery of the Benedictines on Mount Soracte, and thence took the road by the Marches to visit Loretto. On the 19th of July he entered Ancona. A multitude of Catholics from all points of Christendom had visited that city to see a pontiff himself going forth at the head of a crusade.

Christopher Moro, doge of Venice, being detained by foul weather, could not reach Ancona until the 12th of August, and the pope was then in no condition to embark; but he would witness the entrance of the Venetian army. It was the last time that he appeared in public. Two days after, he could scarcely speak. However, he was heard to blame his physician and to say: "*Hoc quoque principium miseria est, ne in morte, quidem, carere assentatoribus*"—"One of the miseries of princes is to have flatterers even around their death-bed."

It was in giving so noble an example, calculated to excite the Christians to look to their own interests and their own perils, that Pius II died, on the 14th of August, 1464, aged fifty-eight years, nine months, and twenty-eight days, after having sought the aids of religion. He had governed the Church five years, eleven months, and twenty-five days.

Pius had received extreme unction when he was attacked by the pestilence during the Council of Bâle. Some theologians, seeing the pope in such extremity at Ancona, thought that he ought not to receive that sacrament a second time. Pius was not unaware that this opinion had been maintained by the doctors of the twelfth century; but he did not agree with it, and he required that that sacrament should be administered to him.

We have to notice a fine trait of disinterestedness and fidelity to his word. The pope had promised pecuniary aid to

the doge of Venice. The Sacred College, finding among the effects of the deceased pope a sum of fifty thousand crowns, delivered it to the doge towards the expenses of the war. Pius was a wise legist and well versed in the literature of the ancients. He was esteemed for his eloquence, his kindness, his justice, and his love of peace. The cardinal of Pavia said: "He was a sovereign pontiff filled with the finest virtues, and admirable for the purity of his morals, the firmness of his mind, and his rare attainments in every branch of knowledge."

He was of short stature. He lost his hair prematurely. His face was pale and looked of greater age. His eyes alternately expressed severity and benevolence. His body was strong, but extenuated by the fatigues of long and frequent journeys, and by the annoyances of an obstinate cough, the gravel, and the gout, which reduced him to a chronic state of disorder. Although so great a sufferer, he readily gave audience; he spoke but little, but when he was in a cheerful mood he did not disdain refined wit.

A good friend, he always liked to see at his table those whose company he liked. Then he would have his table set up in a terrace or other place in the open air. He was not particular in his eating, preferring simple food without rich seasoning. He was stern towards liars and those who abused his confidence. He was easily thrown into a sort of excitement, but could suddenly recover all his calmness; and it was perceptible that he internally reproached himself for his momentary loss of it. He pardoned affronts. He never reprimanded those who spoke ill of him; he said that "in a free city all should be free to speak."

The funeral ceremonies took place. The doge of Venice pronounced the funeral oration, and then took his seat between the two cardinal-deacons.

The cardinals who had accompanied Pius II returned with the body to Rome, where he was interred in the Vatican.

The pope erected a tomb at Sienna to the memory of his mother and father. A multitude of happy sayings is attributed to him.

“Letters,” said he, “are silver for the poor, gold for nobles, and precious stones for princes.”

Without knowing it, or, possibly, well knowing it, Pius here gives his own history. Poor, he found in letters his means of support; as cardinal, he made them the recreation and the ornament of his life; when prince, they consoled him under more than one misfortune, and enabled him to support the weight of the miseries of greatness.

The following are sayings of the same pope:

“Every sect which is supported only by human authority is wrong.”

“It is more beautiful than useful to explore the course of the stars.”

“A miser never has enough money; a scholar never has enough knowledge.”

“The citizen subjects his house to the city, the city to the nation, the nation to the world, and the world to God.”

“The king who confides in no one is useless; and he is no better who trusts every one.”

“A heavy burden is the pontificate! But it is light when well borne.”

“No treasure should be valued above a faithful friend.”

“He nurtures a foe who pardons his son too much.”

“All philosophers agree that it is better to die nobly than live in shame.”

These sentences are extracted from Platina.

PAUL II—A.D. 1464

PAUL II (Pietro) was born at Venice, of a noble family, on the 26th of February, 1418; son of Nicholas Barbo and Polyxena Condolmieri, a lady of great piety and sister of Pope Eugene IV.

It is affirmed that he was about to go to the East, on a vessel which he had freighted with merchandise, when, hearing that his uncle Eugene was made pope, he abandoned his voyage and turned his attention to belles-lettres, which he had neglected in his youth. Others say that Eugene, as he passed through Ferrara, called upon his nephew there, gave him good masters, and shortly afterwards named him Archbishop of Bologna and commandatory of the bishopric of Cervia. On the 22d of June, 1440, Eugene made him cardinal-deacon of Saint Mary Nuova, whence he succeeded to the title of cardinal-priest of Saint Mark.

The cardinals who had accompanied Pius II to Ancona had returned to Rome to open the conclave there, because, most of the sacred electors being too old to travel to Ancona, the electors who remained in Rome were somewhat anxious because Antonio, Duke of Amalfi, the late pope's nephew, held the Castle of Sant' Angelo as of his own right. In their uncertainty as to the intentions of Antonio, some of the cardinals wished the conclave to meet at the Minerva, while others desired it to meet at the Vatican. The latter was finally preferred, and twenty-two cardinals at length assembled there.

The electors began by passing eighteen laws for the good



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administration of the pontificate, which all swore to obey. Thence came the custom of often decreeing, more or less reasonably, new laws before an election.

At the first ballot, to the astonishment of all, Cardinal Barbo was elected, on the 30th of August, 1464; and on the same day, as was at that time customary, and the custom prevailed until Gregory XIII, he went to take possession of Saint John Lateran. Since then the taking possession may have been deferred.

He wished to take the name of Formosus (i.e., handsome), in which case he would have been Formosus II, but the cardinals pointed out that, as he was very handsome, that choice might be imputed to vanity. Then he thought of calling himself Mark, but he feared that that name might be supposed to evince a national preference; finally he changed his name of Pietro into that of Paul.

As cardinal he had singular habits; he sat up all night, dined in the evening, and took supper at dawn of day. Wishing to retain the same habits as pontiff, he could give audiences only in the evening.

Pius II, besides what he took to Ancona, had left at Rome a sum of forty-eight thousand ducats for the Turkish expedition.

A part of this sum was sent to Scanderbeg, who was called the new Alexander and the Christian Gideon. That intrepid general took Albania from the Turks; but, unhappily, the hero survived his triumph only a short time, and Italy was deeply grieved by his death.

As Paul II was very magnificent in his taste, he had a tiara made at great cost, ornamented with a considerable number of precious stones.

It was he who gave the cardinals the red cap to distinguish them the more from the prelates.

To the cardinals whose income was less than four thousand crowns he assigned a hundred golden crowns a month, which is vulgarly called "il piatto di cardinal povero." It is still called "il piatto," but without the foregoing explanation.

The cardinals were not readily distinguished from the prelates when both were in full dress; he therefore permitted the cardinals to wear the damask mitre, and ordered that their benches in the consistories should, like those in the papal chapels, be higher than those of the prelates.

In 1466, by a sentence which he renewed in the following year, the pope excommunicated George Pogebrac, King of Bohemia, a supporter of the Hussites, who had given him that kingdom, although it rightfully belonged to Casimir, King of Poland, entitled to it in right of his wife Isabella, sister of Ladislas, the last sovereign.

At the same time he reprovved the archbishops of Benevento, who, on the solemn days when the prelates were adorned with the mitre, in imitation of the sovereign pontiffs, assumed to wear a tiara formed of three crowns, and had the Holy Eucharist carried before them. Eugene IV had replaced the secular canons at the Basilica of Saint John Lateran by regular canons of Saint Augustine. The Romans had petitioned Calixtus III to restore the canonries to seculars, which he did by taking those benefices from the regulars. The fury of the Romans had become so great that the regulars were insulted. Paul, while cardinal, had courageously opposed this violence, and one of the rabble threatened him with a sword-thrust if he should persist in defending the regulars. Then he made a vow that, should he ever have the power, he would take them back to that church in procession. When he became pope, Paul fulfilled his vow. The secular canons were divided among other establishments without the loss of any of their emoluments. Those of them

who were worthy of it were made bishops, and the regulars were restored, with considerable stipends, to their former places.

For the gradual reform of some abuses which had crept into the administration of affairs, the pope signed a constitution, afterwards confirmed by Sixtus IV. It ordered all legates, governors, and judges of the provinces to refuse to receive any presents of whatsoever kind, except meat and drink, not more than would be consumed in two days. The object of the decree was to release the administrators from a heavy obligation and place them in a better position to administer justice without authorizing corruption. Italy, like the East, is often the country of presents. Such a custom cannot be uprooted, and perhaps it helps to maintain among the populace ideas of subordination and justice. When so inveterate a custom exists, the true policy is, not to declare war against it, but to regulate it.

The pope was informed of some abuses in the administration of the isle of Rhodes. He invited the grand master to Rome, where he received him as a sovereign prince and gave him a solemn audience.

This pope was the first who gave the keeping of fortresses to prelates and ecclesiastics, that they might be the more faithful in preserving those defences of the power of the sovereign pontiffs.

The same pope openly attacked simony, and would have around him in all the places of trust only men of the purest probity.

He destroyed an academy which had been formed at Rome, which had iniquitous customs injurious to true religion. It taught that it was permitted every one to seek all kinds of pleasures; that the names received in baptism should be renounced, and in their stead old pagan names adopted; it

professed other odious maxims, even sanctioning attempts on the life of the pontiff.

The founder of that academy was Damian Toscano, who took the name of Callimachus, and the principal personage was Pomponius Leti, a Calabrian, of the San Severino family, who at his baptism had received the name of Julius or of Bernardine, and who was reader of the College of the Sapienza.

Paul, in 1468, forbade, by a constitution, the alienation of ecclesiastical property, or the farming it for more than three years.

Meantime, Ferdinand, King of Naples, who had received favors from the Church, almost avowed a design to seize Rome, and took measures to weaken the power of the Holy See. Paul, therefore, signed a league for twenty-five years with the republic of Venice. Clauses were inserted, obligatory upon both parties. The mind of the Holy Father was occupied upon a project worthy of him. He determined to get back the provinces unjustly taken or withheld from the Holy See. Among them were the city of Rimini and some other provinces that had been obtained from the Holy See and held in fief by Sigismund Malatesta, and which he had treated as his own independent property. They were now in the possession of Sigismund's natural son Robert, and he having, by the law of the land, no right to inherit them, they rightfully reverted to the Holy See.

Careful to recover what belonged to Rome, Paul was no less so to preserve what had not yet been taken from her. He ordered the building of the fortress of Todi, and then those of Cascia and Monteleone, to add to the security of the frontiers towards the Abruzzi.

The Turks continued their incursions. The pope, that vigilant guardian, could not but foresee fresh misfortunes for

the Church. He wrote to Ferdinand: "We renounce the tribute of the palfrey and the falcons, which form part of the liege homage, if you will furnish a sum of money to pay for the preparations for a war against the Turks." The royal ambassadors refused the sum asked for, and said that, rather than pay it, their prince would join the Turks. Paul replied to them: "Go and repeat to your king what you say. If he resolves to join the Turks, we have already the means to drive the king from the kingdom and the Turk from the Catholic States." Nevertheless, the pope, faithful to all those principles of conciliation which so well characterize the actions of the Holy See, received with great kindness the son of Ferdinand when on his way to Milan, and gave him the golden rose.

It was in this year (1471) that Paul, by a constitution, ordered that the jubilee should be celebrated every twenty-five years, commencing with the year 1475. The custom has been preserved to our own day without interruption, except in 1800, in consequence of the misfortunes of the Church. But Paul did not live to see the fulfilment of his project. He died before he could celebrate the jubilee.

On the 18th of March, 1471, Paul honored with the title of Duke of Ferrara, Borso of Este, Duke of Modena, who previously was only called vicar of Ferrara. That prince came to Rome to receive his new title. On the road and on his arrival he displayed so royal a liberality that even the City of Grandeur was astonished at it, and felt obliged to respond to so much magnificence by a magnificence no less sumptuous. The presents interchanged were worthy of such noble sovereigns.

The Holy Father continued his pontifical labors, and rendered himself more and more honorable to Christianity, when he was stricken down by apoplexy, at the age of fifty-

three years, on the 26th of July, 1471. He had governed the Church six years, ten months, and twenty-six days. He would not take the necessary precautions, and he unhappily affected to forget that he had already had two attacks.

Paul was of lofty stature. Philephus says his figure was heroic. His face was graceful, attractive, and truly beautiful.

He was a great lover of antiquities, and he had formed a very rich museum of the most elegant relics of ancient Rome. It was under him that the revival of sculpture commenced.

It has been said that he could weep at will, and that he would obtain by tears the concessions which were denied to his words.

He was interred in the Vatican.

This pope, who deserves to rank among the most pious, was so zealous for ecclesiastical discipline that he said: "In some things the pontiff may be a man, but when he has to appoint pastors of the Church, he ought to be an angel; and when he has to appoint to the Sacred College, he ought to be a God. If he fails in his first choice (the bishop), he prostitutes the Church by delivering her to one who is destitute of the necessary merits, and who, therefore, is not truly united to her. If he fails in the second duty, the pontiff becomes a demon, because he exposes all the churches to the danger of falling into ruin, so important is that which the Sacred College clearly decides; moreover, the Sacred College often indicates the pastors that should be selected." The pope added: "The ecclesiastical dignities should be distributed neither hastily nor in compliance with the requests and recommendations of distinguished personages, but solely after mature and prudent consideration of the actual personal merits." With such principles, it was often seen that the pope honored the virtue of eminent men, who, though

absent and unconscious of what was said of them, suddenly received the reward of their merit.

Paul embellished the Church of Saint Mark, at present one of the most remarkable in Rome. But, unfortunately, to get the materials for the neighboring palace, he took marbles from the Coliseum, which was fast falling into ruin. His bad example was followed by the nephew of Sixtus IV, and by Cardinal Farnese, afterwards Paul III. It was under this pope that what Quirini calls divine typography was introduced at Rome.

In 1468 some German printers, who, three years previously, had worked at Subiaco, being invited thither by some monks from their country, removed to Rome, and, under the patronage of Paul, published editions which are now eagerly purchased at any price by the chief libraries of the world. He thought it not unbecoming to be known as a frank and joyous person, and, in company of a prince or cardinal, he could enjoy, in spite of etiquette, a hearty laugh. One day, learning that the cardinals were dining with the cardinal of Saint Eusebius, he went there secretly and made his appearance among them, cheerful as themselves, and taking the lowest seat at table, saying that it was not a time to take the highest, and ordering no one to leave his place.

To the Roman populace he gave feasts like the most generous of the ancient emperors. It was under him that the principal street of Rome was named the Strada del Corso, on account of the races that he introduced.

Paul II is blamed by Platina, who says that, as abridger, he applied to the pope, who had suppressed that office, and begged him to refer the matter to the auditors of the Rota. According to Platina, Paul, looking askant at him, said: "So, you send us to judges, as though you know not that we carry all the laws in the casket of our own bosom." And the pope,

throwing aside the first person plural, might have said: "Such is the sentence; let all yield to it; let them go whither they think fit, I do not keep them. I am pontiff, and it is for me to sustain or to annul the acts of others." Platina relates that he appealed from the pope to the kings and the princes. Paul, irritated at this letter, threw the author into prison. It must be admitted that the account of Platina's sufferings, which is probably true, excited a lively interest. The poor man was subjected to torments; but these ceased before the pope's death. Cardinal Bessarion, who was a kind friend to Platina, ends by saying, "*Justus, tamen, habitus et clemens*"—"Yet this pope was just and merciful," though this acknowledgment was accompanied by much insulting language. According to the tone that Platina frequently assumes in his *History of the Popes*, it would be reasonably inferred that he was not quite so innocent as he claims to have been, and that, without being actually one of the conspirators, he at least was one of the harshest speakers among the malcontents of that time. Platina closes his history with Paul II. The successor of that pope, Sixtus IV, reinstated Platina in his posts. That historian ended his life quietly, laden with honors and favors.

The Holy See remained vacant fourteen days.



SIXTUS IV—A.D. 1471

SIXTUS IV, originally named Francis de la Rovera, was born in a villa of his family, a short distance from the city of Savona, on the 21st of July, 1414. Many authors call him a fisherman's son; but Novaes does not admit that fact. Francis at an early age entered the order of Saint Francis, and was professor of philosophy and theology at Padua, at Bologna, at Pavia, at Sienna, at Florence, and at Perugia. His renown was greatly increased in the general chapter of the order which was held at Genoa in 1434. He was then pronounced to be the most eloquent of the friars. Petrarch calls him a most penetrating theologian and an orator of the first merit. He subsequently became procurator-general at Rome, vicar-general of Italy, and in 1464 he was elected general of the Franciscans. Paul II made him cardinal of Saint Peter in Vinculis on the 18th of September, 1467.

He was elected pontiff on the 9th of August, 1471, in a conclave of eighteen cardinals. They were a second time inclined to elect Cardinal Bessarion, one of the most illustrious personages of that age of learning, virtue, and greatness of soul; but he excused himself on the ground of his great age—eighty years—and he aided in inducing them to elect Cardinal Rovera, who was then fifty-seven. The new pope took the name of Sixtus IV, in memory of Saint Sixtus, pope and martyr, because it was on the day of that saint that the conclave was opened.

He was consecrated bishop by the French cardinal

D'Estouteville, and then crowned, on the 25th of August, and afterwards, on the same day, he went to take possession of Saint John Lateran. The pontifical guard having violently repulsed the populace that crowded the streets, a great tumult arose, and stones struck the pope himself before Cardinal Orsini could quell the riot.

The first thought of Sixtus was devoted to the means of preventing the progress of the Turks. He despatched five legates to the various princes in Europe to warn them of the dangers which threatened Catholicism. Cardinal Bessarion was sent to France, Cardinal Borgia to Spain, Cardinal Barbo to Germany and Hungary, and Cardinal Caraffa, celebrated for his military zeal, was put in command of the fleet against the infidels. It consisted of a hundred and four galleys, of which eighteen belonged to the Church, thirty to the King of Naples, and fifty-six to the Venetians. The expedition had the good fortune to take Smyrna, but so small a victory could not shake such a power as that of Mahomet II, who had conquered from the Christians two empires, four kingdoms, twenty provinces, and two hundred cities.

The Hussites continued their ravages. Sixtus, in concert with the Bohemians, allotted their kingdom to Matthias, King of Hungary. To preserve the peace in Italy, he gave the duchy of Ferrara to Hercules d'Este, son of the Duke Borso, enjoining him to pay a tribute of five thousand crowns. He exempted Ferdinand, King of Naples, for his whole life from the tribute due on account of his provinces, on condition that he should present a palfrey to the Holy See, protect the Roman shore against the pirates that infested it, and succor the pope at his first demand for such succor.

Sixtus, by bull, ordered that henceforth instead of fourteen auditors of the Rota there should be only twelve.

In 1473 Sixtus, in his second promotion of cardinals, in-

cluded a Frenchman distinguished for his great piety, Philip de Levis, lord of Cousan and of Quelus, born on the 4th of November, 1435, apostolic referendary, Bishop of Agde, and then Archbishop of Auch and Arles.

On the 23d of May, 1474, Sixtus, by bull, founded the order of the monks of Saint Francis de Paula, who called themselves Penitentiary Hermits, and whom Alexander VI ordered to call themselves Minims, according to the wish of their founder. Saint Francis, besides the device he gave to his monks (the word Charity), bound them, by a fourth vow, to live constantly upon lenten fare, except in case of serious illness.

In conformity with the decree of Paul II that the jubilee should be celebrated every twenty-five years, Sixtus celebrated that which was indicated for 1475.

About this period Rome was visited by several sovereigns: Christian, King of Denmark; John, Duke of Saxony; Ferdinand, King of Naples, and his wife, Queen Charlotte of Cyprus; and Catharine, Queen of Bosnia.

The same year Sixtus raised Avignon into a metropolitan see; then he secularized the chapter of Avignon, which, under Urban II, had embraced the rule of Saint Augustine.

Meanwhile the year 1476 was to witness other successes of the Turks. Mahomet conquered Theodosia, now called Kaffa, and he even contemplated a descent upon Italy. The pope made new efforts to prevent those evils; and if, on the one hand, the Christian princes were deaf to the voice of the pontiff, it happily occurred that Mahomet deferred his mischievous designs, at least upon Italy. During the winter the Tiber overflowed its banks. In the spring Rome was afflicted by a contagion, and the pope was obliged to go some miles from his capital, where he left as his legate Cardinal Cibo, who succeeded him in the papacy. The courageous stay of

Cardinal Cibo made him popular, and he more and more deserved the affection of the Romans.

In a new promotion the pope named as cardinal Raphael Sansoni, commonly called Riario, from an inheritance which he received from his maternal uncle, Cardinal Pietro Riario. Raphael was born at Savona; he was as yet only seventeen years old, and was a student in the University of Pisa. The pope gave this young man the title of his nephew, and the dignity of vice-chancellor and chamberlain. This cardinal was deeply implicated in the conspiracy of the Pazzi against the Medici.

The two families of the Pazzi and the Medici exceeded all others in wealth, and were rivals for authority in the city of Florence. The Pazzi founded their pretensions on the antiquity of their race, the Medici upon the immense credit obtained by their ancestor Cosmo de' Medici, whose unprecedented reputation and prosperity accompanied him to his death. It is affirmed that the pope could not endure the Medici, but that feeling was moderated by the mildness of his nature and by his acquaintance with his more sacred duties. The Medici opposed the increasing power of his nephew Jerome Riario, who had become Prince of Forli; and, for the same reason, the Pazzi endeavored to ingratiate themselves with the pope. The latter conspired against the Medici, and invited the young Cardinal Raphael Sansoni Riario to visit Florence and see its splendor, but without disclosing the cruel project in hand. The cardinal received in that city a generous reception from Lorenzo and Julian de' Medici. There was to be a grand ceremony at the church of the Duomo, at which the cardinal was to be present; and the two Medici could not fail to be present in compliment to the cardinal. The conspirators resolved to assassinate both brothers, their enemies; and even the thought of their

horrible sacrilege could not stop their fury. It was agreed that the signal for the blow should be the communion of the celebrant of the principal Mass. This point settled, they went to the church at the moment when Lorenzo and the cardinal entered. The church was crowded, and divine service had commenced. The assassins had their hands on their daggers. Those who were to strike Lorenzo were able to get quite close to him without exciting any suspicion, so great was the crowd; the others kept watch upon Julian. Bernard Bandini, one of the conspirators, stabbed Julian to the heart; the wounded man staggered a few paces and then fell. Francis de Pazzi then threw himself upon him and covered him with wounds, striking him so cruelly that in his blind fury he wounded himself quite seriously in the leg. Antonio Volterra, aided by an accomplice, attacked Lorenzo; but, though he struck at him several times, he only succeeded in slightly wounding him in the throat. Lorenzo, followed by his friends, fled to the sacristy and closed the bronze gates which separated it from the body of the church. In the midst of the frightful tumult Raphael fled to the altar, where the priest with great difficulty saved him. He had to wait until the seigniory could escort him to his palace, where he remained under guard until his entire liberation. Novaes believes that the cardinal was ignorant of the conspiracy. The author of the article Sixtus IV in the *Biographie Universelle* is not so indulgent to the cardinal. He says: "It does not seem easy to justify Riario. He obtained from his uncle permission, on a very frivolous pretext, to go to Florence with the Cardinal Saint George, another nephew of the pope; but he might have concealed his perfidious design, even if guilty. Sixtus IV, though somewhat headstrong, was not of a disposition prone to such dark deeds; his nephew may have deceived him. The pope would scarcely refrain from punishing

the Florentines with the utmost severity for their terrible sacrilege. At length he pardoned them, and that indulgence calls at least for hesitation on so serious a case."

The Florentines were excommunicated on account of the sacrilege and the murder of the Archbishop of Pisa, whom the partisans of the Medici hanged at the window of the old palace. The pope declared that that prince of the Church should have been tried in concert with the authorities of Rome; and this demand was perfectly legitimate, and conformable to the laws of the time.

Queen Catharine, wife and heiress of Thomas, King of Bosnia, dying at Rome, left by her will all her rights in the kingdom to the pope and his successors; and to testify the acceptance of the pope, he was presented with the sword and spurs as a sign of sovereignty over Bosnia.

In 1478 King Ferdinand, the Catholic, "a prince," says Novaes, "who was useful to religion, but to whom religion was more useful still, solicited from Sixtus a bull authorizing the establishment in Spain of the formidable tribunal of the Inquisition, under the authority of the king." Here Novaes praises the impartiality of Bercastel. "I trust to that learned writer," says Novaes, "who very clearly proves what the tribunal of the Inquisition really was."

Notwithstanding the exhortations of the pontiff, the Christian princes gave no heed to the enterprises for which Mahomet was preparing. He sent an army to the island of Rhodes. The knights made a vigorous defence and compelled the Turks to retreat. Sixtus congratulated the noble knights and highly praised their courage; but Italy, long threatened, could not escape the malignity of the Turks. They surprised the city of Otranto, and, to give an idea of the fate that was in store for other cities which they might afterwards take, they put to the sword a great number of men, women, and children, threw relics to the dogs, and outraged

young maidens upon the very altars. They condemned all the nobles to be beheaded; the archbishop they sawed in two; and committed a host of abominable crimes, which warned the Christians to defend themselves to the utmost, and not to forget, for miserable local prejudices, the real situation of Catholicism in presence of barbarians so ferocious and audacious. In the first moment the advice was given to Sixtus to take refuge at Avignon, but his wise heart gave wider and more magnanimous advice. By an energetic bull he ordered all the princes of Italy instantly to make truces with each other and prepare to arm against the common enemy. On Ascension day he signed a league with the Venetians, and he sent as legate to Naples Cardinal Rangoni, who was to give the cross to the faithful. He wrote to the kings of the West for their aid and protection, and he prepared an army of twenty-five galleys to join that of the Neapolitan fleet, which counted forty galleys.

From Otranto the Turks pushed farther into the Adriatic, and presented themselves before Ancona, with the intention of pillaging Loretto; but the prayers of the inhabitants of the Marches were heard, and the Turks disappeared as though seized by panic.

In 1481 Mahomet II died. He had reigned thirty-two years without ceasing to be the most terrible and cruel scourge of Christendom.

On the 14th of April, 1482, the pope canonized Saint Bonaventure, the friend of Saint Thomas Aquinas, with whom, as is known, he had been a professor at Paris. After his many labors and anxieties, Sixtus died on the 13th of August, 1484, at the age of seventy. He had governed the Church thirteen years and four days, and he was interred at the Vatican in a tomb erected in 1473, which stands in the chapel of the Blessed Sacrament.

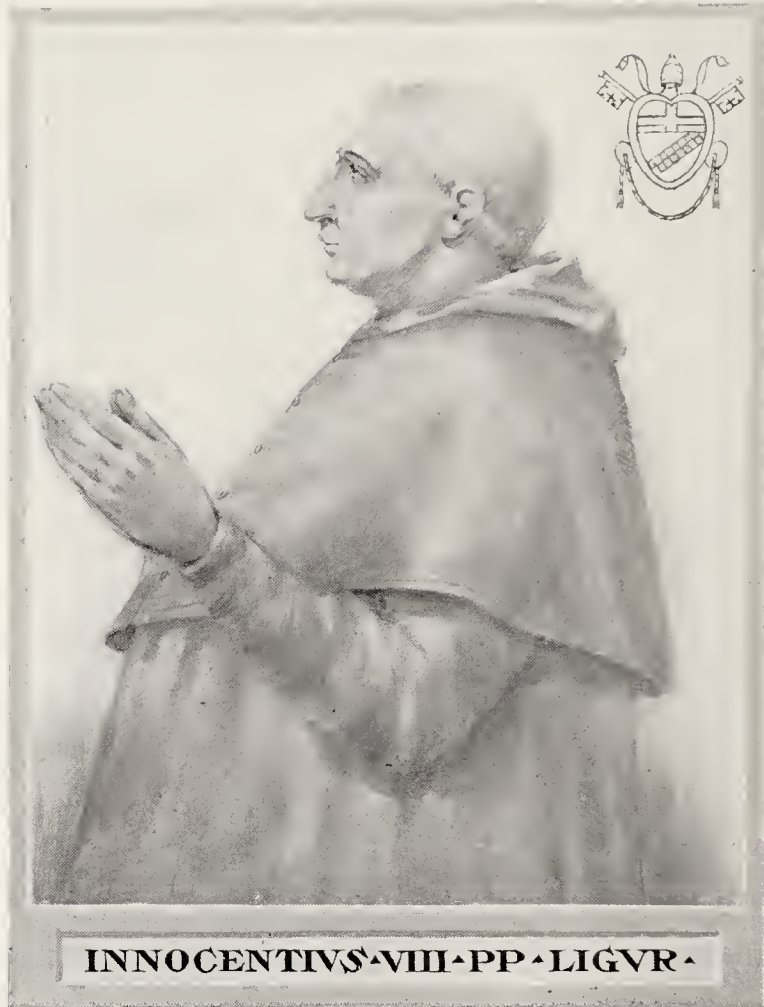
Sixtus IV was distinguished for many virtues, purity of

morals, extraordinary learning, consummate talents, a careful application to business, a noble and generous soul, and a decided taste for letters, of which he was a constant patron. In fact, such was his nature that he might have almost been termed faultless, had he not been so greatly afflicted with the disease of nepotism. As soon as he was elected pope, he made two of his still young nephews cardinals, and afterwards sent the purple to three other nephews. This facility of granting favors produced grave abuses, and set a bad example not only to the pontiffs, but also to the sovereigns. Sixtus did not hesitate to allow Alphonso, the natural child of Ferdinand, son of King John of Aragon, a child only six years old, to possess the archbishopric of Saragossa in perpetual commendam. Notwithstanding the decree of a former council, he increased the number of the cardinals; but after him it was increased still more.

Rome received magnificent embellishments from this pontiff, and owes to him the bridge which bears his name. The Vatican Library, commenced by Nicholas V, was enriched by Sixtus with a great number of precious books. He gave the direction of that library to the celebrated Platina. Rome presents so many inscriptions placed upon the monuments which he had constructed that it has been said that these stones alone would serve to build a large edifice.

Sixtus deserves great praise for the zeal he displayed in maintaining religion. He propagated it in the Canaries, whither he sent missionaries. He had the happiness to receive an embassy from the Czar of Muscovy, John Basilowitz, one of the greatest men of his time, to whom Russia owed her first brilliancy.

After freeing the Russians from the yoke of the Tartars, that prince sent ambassadors to say that, having refused to recognize the Patriarch of Constantinople, he accepted the



union with the Roman Church sworn in the Council of Florence.

Sixtus IV possessed in an eminent degree the sciences of theology and philosophy, and he wrote with elegance. He was not tall, but he was admired for his gentle and friendly manners. He was the author of several Latin treatises.

The Holy See remained vacant eleven days.

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INNOCENT VIII—A.D. 1484

INNOCENT VIII, originally John Baptist Cibo, was born at Genoa in 1432. He belonged to the illustrious family of that name, which migrated into Italy from Greece, and which originally was named Cubea or Cibocca. He embraced the ecclesiastical career, and in 1467 Paul II made him Bishop of Savona. Sixtus IV, in 1472, transferred him to the bishopric of Molfetta, then named him datary, and on the 7th of May, 1473, created him cardinal, and intrusted him, as we have seen, with the government of Rome, when the pestilence drove the pope from the city.

It was by his management that peace was signed between the pontiff, the King of Naples, the Duke of Milan, and the Florentines.

On the 26th of August, 1484, after the funeral of Sixtus IV, twenty-six cardinals entered into conclave. Mark Barbo having refused the tiara, which was offered to him by eleven cardinals, they all turned to Cardinal John Baptist Cibo, and unanimously elected him on the 29th of August. He was then fifty-two years of age. He took the name of Innocent

VIII, in memory of Innocent IV, his fellow-citizen, was crowned on the 12th of September, and on the same day, mounted on a white horse, he went to take possession of Saint John Lateran. He commenced his reign by confirming all the agreements made by the cardinals in the case of any of them being elected pope, a custom introduced into the conclave that elected Paul II.

The pope wrote to all the sovereigns to live in peace and to think of the threats of the Turks.

Alphonso, Duke of Calabria, son of Ferdinand, King of Naples, seeking to usurp the wealth of the barons of his kingdom, caused the Count of Montoro and his wife to be imprisoned, and gave plausible reasons for occupying the city of Aquila. The inhabitants revolted and appealed to the pope, the supreme lord of the city and of the whole kingdom. The pope defended his rights; but Ferdinand made him enemies, and at the moment when all attention ought to have been fixed upon the Turks, a guilty war arose between Ferdinand, the Florentines, and the Duke of Milan, allied together on the one side, and Innocent VIII, in league with the Genoese, on the other side.

On the 6th of January, 1485, the pope canonized Saint Leopold, surnamed Pious, fourth Marquis of Austria, married to Agnes, daughter of Henry IV, King of the Romans, by whom he had had eighteen children. Leopold died on the 15th of November, 1136.

Meanwhile Innocent concluded peace with Ferdinand of Naples, by the exertions of Ferdinand, King of Aragon. The latter feared that if the throne of Naples should escape from Ferdinand, who held it in investiture, the pope would substitute the French, who had pretensions on that State, and that thus Naples would slip from the Aragonese, who might hope to establish themselves by force of arms in place of Ferdi-

nand of Naples. It was stipulated in that place that the latter should punctually pay the tribute of eight thousand ounces of gold, which were to be presented to the pope with the palfrey.

But Ferdinand was not faithful to his word, and the Roman court called to the throne Charles VIII, King of France.

René, known in France under the name of King René, had died in 1480, without male heirs. His generous son John, who, like the son of Ferdinand the Neapolitan, bore the title of Duke of Calabria—a title still in our own day corresponding to that of presumptive heir to the kingdom of Naples—had left, by his marriage with Mary of Bourbon, two sons, John and Nicholas, who died in childhood. But a daughter of René, Yolanda, had been married to Ferry, Count of Vaudemont. From this marriage sprang René II, Duke of Lorraine, who, by the death of his cousins John and Nicholas, became heir to all the claims of the house of Anjou upon the kingdom of Naples. But René thought he could deprive René II of that heritage and give it to a son of one of his brothers, Charles of Anjou, Count of Maine. Monstrelet gives a lucid account of these particulars. The pretensions of Charles, King of France, son of Louis XI, upon the kingdom of Naples, had been transmitted to him by Charles, Count of Maine, who had bequeathed all his rights to Louis XI and his descendants.

To such pretensions the Venetians and the Florentines, in spite of their predilection for France, and afterwards nearly all Italy, replied that the kingdom of Naples was a feminine fief, without Salic law, and that as long as even a female descendant in direct line remained from the last sovereign, collaterals could have no right; and they consequently persisted in recognizing René II, who, they averred, had been

unjustly despoiled by René I, his maternal grandfather. At this time the son of Alphonso the Magnanimous, Ferdinand, maintained that an intermediate adoption signed by Jane II, although revoked, and the actual and positive possession, powerfully established the rights of the house of Anjou. Then the question could only be settled by arms.

At this time Innocent wished to extinguish the fires of war in Great Britain. There were serious differences between the houses of York and Lancaster as to the succession to the throne. The pope confirmed the rights of the first house, and gave a dispensation to set aside the obstacle which existed to the marriage of Henry VII and Elizabeth, heiress of the Duke of York. Henry VIII was the offspring of that marriage.

A former bishop, having apostatized, had restored in Bohemia the deplorable heresy of the Hussites. Innocent succeeded in repressing that schism for the time, though it reappeared, with some modifications, under Luther.

In 1487 Innocent renewed with Augustine Barbarigo, doge of Venice, the treaty which had previously been made and concluded between his brother Mark and the Roman Church. Soon, seeing that the Turks again began to advance towards Germany and that the tyrant Bocoloni had admitted them to Osimo, in Italy, the pope published a holy war, the command of which he gave to the Emperor Frederic. Sentences of death had been usually executed on the Tarpeian rock at Rome, or even at the Capitol; but, for reasons which he deemed sufficient, the pope ordered that thenceforth they should take place upon the square of the Castle of Sant' Angelo, at the entrance of the bridge leading to that fortress.

The princes of Europe continued to live on terms of misunderstanding. The King of Hungary, in alliance with Fer-

Ferdinand of Naples, supported him against the pope. Maximilian, King of the Romans, made war upon the King of France. The King of Poland attacked the possessions of the knights of Prussia; John, King of Denmark, was at strife with the princes of his kingdom; the Duke of Calabria occupied a part of the Patrimony of Saint Peter; the dukes of Bracciano had entered Perugia as usurpers, and the Guelphs and Ghibellines were pitilessly at war. It was more than ever needful to make war upon the Turks, in the first place to daunt and restrain them, and then to produce peace among the Christians. Those divisions, discord and jealousy, envy and usurpation, explain the fall of empires. A conqueror arises, minds are divided, he meets with few obstacles, because neighbors have absurdly resolved to seize a town or a castle, and because old rancors, recriminations, and the desire of vengeance have prepared the way for the foreigner, who establishes a kind of peace by laying the same yoke on all. It was thus that the Greek emperors lost their capital; and it was thus that Italy would have been conquered had not God himself watched over the safety of the peninsula and the Pontifical States.

At this time a new discord arose between the pope and Ferdinand of Naples. That prince, having invited to a banquet the barons of the kingdom who in the preceding war had pronounced in favor of the interests of the Church, ordered them all to be thrown into the sea. Then, pretending that they were imprisoned in a fortress, he had food taken there daily. He subsequently indulged in the worst excesses in the government of his kingdom. On Saint Peter's day the pope cited him to appear at the papal tribunal, on pain of excommunication should he not appear within two months. Ferdinand in his irritation threatened to invade the Roman territory. It was his last threat. The pope pronounced the

throne vacant, and formally called upon Charles VIII to occupy it as heir of the rights of René I of Anjou.

Innocent, in his gratitude, granted the purple to Peter d'Aubusson, grand master and preserver of Rhodes. "He figured," says Novaes, "as well as a prelate as he had as a hero." In the same promotion the pope raised to the cardinalate John de' Medici, who was afterwards pope under the name of Leo X.

An unforeseen difference arose in the court of Constantinople. Mahomet had left two sons, who disputed the throne. Dgem urged, as his right to the succession, that he was porphyrogenitus (born in the porphyry halls, that is, in the palace of Constantinople), and that he was born while his father was on the throne, a pretension which had formerly served the Greek princes of Byzantium. Dgem said that that fact made him superior to his elder brother, born when their father was a simple warrior, and most probably in a tent. That vain distinction would have been sufficient to kindle war in a country still addicted to the subtleties of the Greeks. But in a despotic State there is no real right but what force gives.

Dgem fought and was defeated, and fled to Rhodes to seek protection from the knights, who sent him to France. He was then in demand by all his brother's enemies, who wished to put him at the head of an army. Among these were Caït Bey, the Sultan of Egypt; Matthias Cervinus, King of Hungary, the same who had the honor to arrest Mahomet II in the midst of his conquests; Ferdinand, King of Sicily and Aragon; and Ferdinand, son of Alphonso the Magnanimous, the actual King of Naples, if the pretensions of France were denied. On the other hand, Bajazet wrote to Charles VIII to demand Dgem. The council of Charles VIII decided that the Turkish prince ought to be sent to Pope Innocent.

The credit enjoyed by the popes and the confidence that they inspired dictated that course, and Dgem set out for the capital of the Christian world. On the day of his entrance the Sultan of Egypt's ambassador, who was at Rome, went to meet the prince and kissed the feet of his horse. When presented to the pope, the prince pressed his lips upon the right shoulder of the pontiff.

While Dgem was at Rome, where the pope received him magnificently, Bajazet endeavored to poison him and the pope too. The hireling who had promised to commit the crime was named Christopher Macrinus. He had been driven from Rome, and was at Constantinople. He was sent thence to Rome, but had scarcely entered the latter city when he was arrested, tried, and sentenced to the punishment decreed for poisoners.

In 1492 the pope received intelligence of the taking of Granada, which implied the extinction of Mahometanism in Spain.

There was at this time in Rome a prodigy of learning. Pico Mirandola, only twenty-four years of age, proposed nine hundred questions taken from Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and Chaldee authors. They were directly connected with all the sciences. He maintained these questions in those four languages. But several points of those controversies seemed to be opposed to the doctrines of the Church. The Holy Father, therefore, condemned this kind of discussion and the works in which these questions were contained. But, under the following pontificate, these works, having apparently been corrected, were approved by a bull of the 13th of June, 1493.

The pope meditated new efforts to extend religion. But he was subject to serious infirmities. He died on the 25th of July, 1492, after governing the Church seven years, ten

months, and twenty-seven days. He was interred at the Vatican.

It was under this pontificate that Christopher Columbus discovered the New World.

Innocent had a striking countenance, and his figure was tall and elegant. He loved to relieve the poor and the afflicted; and he cherished men of letters and encouraged them with benefits.

Before embracing the ecclesiastical life he was married to a Neapolitan lady, and two of his children were still living when he was made pope. Franceschetto, one of his children, was enriched by his father, but in a manner not deserving severe rebuke. He is charged with having created new offices and with having sold them at high prices. But those offices had become necessary; and the needs of the Church had so exhausted the treasury that the principal tiara, ornamented with precious stones, had been pledged to some Roman merchant for a considerable amount.

The Holy See was vacant fifteen days.

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ALEXANDER VI—A.D. 1492

ALEXANDER VI, originally named Roderic Lenzuoli or Lansol Borgia, was born on the 1st of January, 1431, at Valencia, in Spain. He was the son of Geoffrey or Jofré Lenzuoli and Isabella Borgia, sister of Calixtus III. That pontiff gave Roderic his name, made him Bishop of Valencia, and on the 18th of September, 1456, created him cardinal-deacon of Saint Nicholas in Carcere.



ALEXANDER VI PP HISPANVS

After the funeral of Innocent VIII, the cardinals, to the number of twenty-three, met in conclave, and on the 11th of August, 1492, they elected Roderic Lenzuoli Borgia, who took the name of Alexander VI. On the 26th of August he was crowned, and the same day he went to take possession of Saint John Lateran. While he was before the high altar, the pontiff fell fainting into the arms of Cardinal Saint George. There was then a kind of tumult in the church. Alexander was only restored by having water thrown on his face. Between the death of Innocent and the coronation of his successor there were more than two hundred unpunished assassinations committed in the Ecclesiastical States. The pope named four commissioners to inquire into those things, and declared that on every Tuesday he would personally hear all complaints that should be made by the families; and he did justice to all in a manner that gave great public satisfaction.

It must be confessed that subsequently the attention of Borgia was more particularly directed to the affairs of Spain. He raised his former bishopric of Valencia to a metropolitan see, and he gave the new archbishopric to his son Cæsar Borgia, who already was Bishop of Pampeluna.

On the 31st of August, 1492, he created his nephew on the maternal side, John Borgia, a cardinal.

Ferdinand V, King of Castile and Aragon, destroyed in Spain that power of the Saracens which had lasted seven hundred and eighty years. Ferdinand had driven from Spain eight hundred thousand Jews and Saracens—a consummation only reached after the Spaniards had in nine successive centuries fought nearly five thousand battles. The peninsula, moreover, was not wholly delivered from these enemies until under Philip III, in 1610. He was obliged to expel nearly nine hundred thousand men. And if the Jews and Saracens

had not been repulsed into Mauretania, they assuredly would have entirely conquered Spain, enslaved the proudest and bravest of the Spaniards, and destroyed Christianity in that country.

It has been stated that the Inquisition was then established in Spain for the punishment of those who in mere policy embraced Christianity and profaned it by a horrible mixture of Judaism and Mahometanism. But it has been already shown that that tribunal was established in Spain under Sixtus IV. It can only be said that Alexander did not weaken the bull of his predecessor. A war was about to break out on the subject of the new countries discovered by the kings of Spain and the kings of Portugal. Each sovereign claimed the absolute dominion of the countries in question, and on many points they seemed to have equal pretensions. Alexander wished to prevent the war; he ordered commissioners to arrange for a partition satisfactory to both parties.

John II, King of Portugal, obstinately maintained that all the New World, without any exception, belonged to him, in consequence of grants of the Roman pontiffs, especially of Eugene IV. Ferdinand, contrariwise, supported his claim by a subsequent concession made to him by Alexander. The pope ordered a line to be drawn from the north pole to the southward, thirty-seven degrees west of the Cape Verde Islands, and thus divided the whole map of the earth. What lay to the east he gave to John II, in right of the antiquity of his claim; that to the west he granted to King Ferdinand, to whom, moreover, the Holy Father confirmed the title of Catholic king, already conferred upon that prince by Innocent VIII. Ferdinand was further authorized to subject Africa to his authority, and, after this was accomplished, to add to his other titles that of Africanus.

The council of Charles VIII, who, as we have shown, had

obtained the approbation of the Roman court in the affair of the Neapolitan succession, continued to make formidable preparations for war. Alexander feared such a neighborhood, and, to prevent the king from undertaking the expedition to Italy, he made a league with the Venetians and the Duke of Milan.

Among other cardinals in a promotion, Alexander gave the purple to his son Cæsar Borgia.

The occupation of Naples was the common subject of conversation in France. Alexander sent, as legate to Charles, Cardinal Piccolomini, to dissuade the king from such an expedition. The prince replied that a great number of Neapolitan nobles, compromised as having formerly defended the interests of the Holy See, had called France to Naples. Alexander persisted; and the king then stated that he should appeal to a future council. Alexander then threatened the king with excommunication and ecclesiastical censures, according to a decree of Pius II.

Charles commenced a kind of triumphal march, for he encountered no enemies. The description of the French army has been left to us by Italian authors. Paulus Jovius says that that army was the most superb and the most warlike in arms, countenances, garb, and bearing, and that it was a terrifying thing to see such a force of French, Germans, and Swiss. Charles entered Rome on the 31st of December, 1494. Novaes says: "The pope, intimidated by his arrival, retired with Cardinals Orsini and Caraffa into the Castle of Sant' Angelo."

At the same time some of the other cardinals endeavored judicially to depose him, on the charge of his having obtained the pontificate by simony and of having led a life not befitting that dignity.

"The French monarch, to whom the Romans delivered the

keys of the city, considering that it was better to tolerate the head of the Church, even though culpable, than to depose him and cause a schism, made a treaty with the pope in 1495, in which there were some conditions contrary to the pontifical majesty." If, among these unbecoming conditions, Novæes includes the payment of a contribution in gold, we have to remark that the sum was not large, and that the king generously placed it at the disposal of Francis de Paula, afterwards canonized by Leo X, and that the sum was devoted by the saint to purchasing the site of land on which now stands the French convent of Trinità dei Monti, long occupied by the French Minims, and later belonging to the ladies of the Sacred Heart.

It is also probable that one of those conditions imposed on Alexander was the delivery of Dgem, the brother of Bajazet. That young Turk, when presented to the king, testified his gratitude by kissing the hand and then the right shoulder of the prince.

After the treaty, Alexander, at the request of King Charles, celebrated Mass at the Vatican on the day of Saints Fabian and Sebastian. The Most Christian King sat by the first cardinal-bishop, and presented water to the pope after having kissed his feet.

On the 25th of January Charles departed for Naples, taking with him Cardinal Cæsar Borgia, who had the title of legate, but who might rather be considered a hostage; he, in fact, at Velletri, took flight and returned to Rome.

Charles entered Naples on the 21st of February, 1495. Errors often follow close on triumphs. Charles VIII, after having been crowned and after assuming the imperial insignia, which had never been granted to Charles, brother of Saint Louis, failed to govern the country wisely. His army of various nations exacted contributions and oppressed the peo-

ple. It was resolved in council that the king should return to Amboise. When this was known, the Neapolitan populace, feeling assured that Naples would have no court, with its luxury and its expenditure, but would become a mere province of France, could not conceal their discontent.

Charles, however, left Naples and took the road to Rome. The pope, to avoid signing still more onerous treaties, went to Orvieto and thence to Perugia, secretly intending to go to Venice, should the danger become more pressing. The king stayed only two days in Rome, and, when he reached Viterbo, endeavored, but unsuccessfully, to obtain an interview with the pope. However, the prince renounced the most important advantage stipulated in the preceding treaty.

The pope, in 1496, had the pleasure to receive, as ambassador from Constantine, King of Georgia, Nilus, a monk of Saint Basil, appointed to make an act of obedience to the Holy Father. Nilus asked the pope for aid against the Saracens; he also desired to obtain a copy of the decree of the Council of Florence in which the Greek errors had been condemned; and the act of their reunion to the Roman Church, which King Constantine desired thenceforth to recognize as the only true one. The pope, in reply, sent the decree, in which it is established that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son as from one sole principle, and by which decree it is ordered that the primacy of the Roman pontiff be acknowledged by all the churches in the world.

A better understanding then existed between the pope and the King of France. At the request of Charles VIII, Alexander confirmed the order of the Knights of Saint Michael, instituted by Louis XI.

Florence was much agitated by the preaching of Jerome Savonarola, a Dominican of Ferrara, who at that time excited the warmest sympathies of some and the deepest de-

testation of others. Some called him a wretch and a rebel, while others deemed him a saint, a prophet, and a martyr. Novaes agrees with Bercastel, whom he quotes as follows: "Bercastel's judgment upon this unfortunate celebrity seems to me quite correct. He was inexcusable for his opposition to Alexander. However vicious the pope may have been, that friar had no right to despise the injunctions of Rome. Savonarola was neither a heretic nor a martyr, and those who have given him either title had in view only their own interest. He was probably, at certain periods of his life, a hot-headed fanatic, who ought to have been shut up, not burned."

It was with great prejudice to all ideas of pontifical decorum that Alexander sought to transfer to his sons the Patrimony of Saint Peter; and yet, by a bull of June, 1497, he erected into a duchy the principality of Benevento, and gave it, as well as the city of Terracina, to John Borgia, Duke of Gandia, another of his sons. All the cardinals who were present in the secret consistory consented to the alienation, except the cardinal of Sienna, who constantly and intrepidly opposed it. But John Borgia did not long enjoy that favor, for almost all historians agree that he was assassinated by his own brother Cæsar, and thrown into the Tiber, whence he was drawn out, covered with mortal wounds.

Alexander, deeply afflicted, and remembering some of the acts by which he had obtained the pontificate, for some time thought of abdicating. He consulted Ferdinand, King of Spain, upon the subject, and that prince told him that a project so important required mature consideration.

The pontiff, moreover, believed that he could alter his way of life, restore the ecclesiastical discipline to its primitive candor, and establish a better state of things in Christendom. This project had some results. A deputation of six cardinals, known for their sanctity, were charged to draw up holy laws;

but they were not executed. When the pontiff's grief for the Duke of Gandia was nearly consoled, he would not enforce these wise laws, saying that they were subversive of the pontifical liberty. However, he sent his son Cæsar Borgia to place the royal crown upon the head of Frederic, son of Ferdinand II of Aragon, who received it in a grand and sumptuous solemnity.

In 1498 Alexander promoted to the cardinalate George d'Amboise, surnamed the elder, to distinguish him from his nephew, created in 1545, by Paul III. George the elder was at that time prime minister of King Louis XII.

That the province of Brittany should not be separated from the kingdom of France, Alexander, at the request of Louis XII, annulled the marriage between that prince and Jane of Valois, Duchess of Berri, daughter of Louis XI and sister of Charles VIII. According to Novaes, some pious persons censured Alexander for his compliance; but he hastens to add that this separation was determined upon with impartiality and circumspection by eight bishops and several doctors of renown who were intrusted to inquire into the affair. The Holy Father, on the statement of their conclusions, allowed Louis to espouse Anne of Brittany, widow of Charles VIII.

It was with feelings of sublime virtue that Jane consented to the divorce. She retired to Bourges, and there founded the order of the Annunciade, under the rule of Saint Francis. Many of the statutes are taken from the ten principal virtues of the Most Blessed Virgin, as given in the Gospels. The tenth, for instance, is taken from these words: "Stabat juxta crucem Jesu Mater ejus"—"There stood by the cross of Jesus his Mother." To condole with the immense grief of Mary, the rule enjoined a fast on Friday and Saturday. The habit of the nuns was prescribed by the blessed foundress. It was

to be of three colors, in memory of the three colors of the vestments worn by Jesus on the day of the Passion. The order was approved by Alexander in 1501, and subsequently confirmed by Julius II and Leo X.

Before the end of the last year of the fifteenth century, Alexander, according to the custom of his predecessors, from Boniface VIII, the hundred and ninety-fifth pope, announced the jubilee, which was celebrated in the year 1500. He ordered that no cardinal should leave Rome, and that a broader and more convenient street should be laid out between the Castle of Sant' Angelo and Saint Peter's. It was called the Alexandrine street, from the name of the pope. It was paved in 1565 by Julius II, and is now called the Borgo-Nuovo.

On Saint Peter's day in the year of the jubilee, Alexander was in danger of losing his life. An enormous chimney of the Vatican Palace fell with a great crash, crushing in the ceiling of the room in which the pope was sitting. Many persons were killed, as the pope himself would have been, but that the principal beam just over him remained firm, and thus protected him more than those who were in other parts of the room.

On the 25th of July the pope went in solemn procession to the Church of the Madonna del Popolo to return thanks to God for having saved him from a death which seemed inevitable.

Alexander thought fit to confirm a decree of Calixtus III, his uncle, which ordered that the bells should be thrice rung at noon, so that the faithful, by reciting the Angelic Salutation, should obtain the aid of God against the Turks.

The custom of sounding the great bells in High Mass, both before and after the elevation of the Host, commenced in Sicily, and was adopted thence by all Christendom, on account of a sacrilege committed on that island by John Baptist

Rizzio. That fanatic, on Easter day, 1513, snatched the consecrated Host from the hands of the celebrant, and vainly endeavored to break it in his hands. It was taken unbroken from his impious hands and shown to the people, who rushed upon the sacrilegious man, and, without waiting for any sentence, immolated him to public indignation. It was then resolved in Sicily that the bells should sound at the commencement of the Preface and at the elevation of the Host, to invite the people to enter the church in greater numbers, and thus prevent similar crimes.

Dgem was delivered to Charles VIII, but died shortly afterwards. King Charles was deeply grieved. It was pretended by some that he was already poisoned when given up. Desportes, in the *Biographie Universelle*, thus speaks of that case: "The unfortunate prince died from the effects of a dysentery, a disease very common, and indeed almost inevitable in an army at all numerous, collected in a strange climate." In all such accusations there is an obscurity which should make copyists more suspicious and teach them to imitate the reserve of President Hénault, who gives it as a common rumor, but not as a well-founded one.

The life of Dgem was precious to all who had anything to fear from the Turks. Alexander especially knew how useful he was, as a hostage, to both Rome and France. Who could be unaware that, that hostage being dead, Bajazet, no matter what he had promised, would break his word, his religion releasing him pretty nearly from all scruple as to the execution of treaties made with Christians? He now declared war against the Venetians. Alexander (and this is another proof of his innocence in that affair) took the defence of the Venetians, and threatened Bajazet with a general war of the Christians against the Turks.

Bajazet discontinued his preparations; but the genius of

his nation allowed its chief no long repose. Local conspiracies, and especially those among the troops, imperatively called upon the prince to engage them in war. Bajazet determined to attack the Christians, and he took Modon, a city of the Morea, from the Venetians.

Alexander again called upon the Christians to show more union and more zeal for religion. He even went so far as to declare that, were the King of France or the King of Spain to head a crusade, the pontiff himself would march with it.

Those warlike feelings soon yielded to the obstinate nepotism which ruled the heart of Alexander. Apparently he thought Cæsar Borgia was not sufficiently loaded with favors and principalities; or perhaps he was glad to remove him to a distance at any cost. Cæsar was appointed Duke of Romagna.

Alexander had also a daughter, Lucretia Borgia. She received a kind of power as governess of Rome, during an absence of her father.

Cæsar Borgia, created by France Duke of Valentinois, committed in the Marches crimes which excited a feeling of horror, and he would have proceeded in his abominable course, had it not pleased Providence to put an end to a power which could but plunge the Church into the most terrible ills. Alexander was attacked by malignant fever, at the end of a week of suffering, and died on the 18th of August, 1503, at the age of seventy-two, after a reign of eleven years and eight days. He was buried at the Vatican, in the chapel of his uncle, Calixtus III, whence they were both removed, in 1610, to the Church of Saint Mary in Montserrat.

Novaes does not believe the great story about the poisons prepared for the cardinals, and by a change in the position of the bottles served to Cæsar and to Alexander. No diary of the time mentions any such circumstance. Alexander—

an old man—died in his bed of malignant fever, and the contrary reports were unheard of until after the machinations of Luther, so unfortunately patronized in the political interests of the German princes.

Alexander was endowed with a lively wit and an excellent memory; he was an eloquent speaker; he loved letters without cultivating them, and he rewarded the learned; he treated his numerous troops magnificently, and, says Novaes, “he was the first pontiff who placed his successors in a situation to figure in the world as sovereigns.” His pleasure never caused him to neglect business, and his indulgence did not diminish his courage; but his general conduct deserves more blame than praise. His life was rather that of a rival of Alexander the conqueror, whose name he took in pride, than that of the vicar of the Good Shepherd. Some natural qualities, as well as some other virtues, more apparent than real, must not induce us to forget the vices with which all authors, even the sacred annalists, reproached Alexander, such as avarice and cruelty. They accuse him of obtaining the pontificate by gifts and promises, and also accuse him of debauchery; and they have convicted him of recognizing, during his pontificate, four sons and a daughter, all the offspring of Rosa Vanozza, the wife of Domenico Arignani, one of the Roman grandees.

In one word, the Roman Church, under that vicious chief, had as much cause for lamentation as in the worst times, seeing, as for the first time she saw, upon the pontifical throne examples of faults and crimes such as she previously had not known.

The son of Alexander, Cæsar, was still worse than his father.

The Holy See was vacant one month and three days.

PIUS III—A.D. 1503

P IUS III (Francis Todeschini Piccolomini) was born May 9, 1439, at Sienna, son of Nanno Todeschini, a very wealthy man of the town of Sarteano, in the county of Sienna, and of Laodonica Piccolomini, sister of Pius II. The latter pope adopted Francis, giving him the name and arms of the Piccolomini, a family still existing at Naples and known as the Piccolomini di Aragon—Angelo Piccolomini having married Mary, daughter of Ferdinand, King of Naples. Their present title is that of Counts of Celano, Princes of Valle.

Francis, from his earliest years, applied himself to the study of literature and law, and received the degree of doctor at Perugia. His uncle, Pius II, made him Archbishop of Sienna in 1460, when he was only twenty years old. Soon after, the same year, the pope created him cardinal-deacon of Saint Eustace.

While still very young, he was sent as legate to the Marches, and he obtained the same title at Rome when his uncle Pius proceeded to Ancona.

In the last years of the reign of Paul II, Francis was sent to the Emperor Frederic, and he manfully defended the rights of the Church at the Diet of Ratisbon, in the presence of the emperor and the German nobles.

Recalled to Rome by Sixtus IV, he there preserved the reputation acquired by his irreproachable life. Innocent VIII sent him to Umbria to restore peace, disturbed by turbulent factions.



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Alexander VI sent him as legate to Charles VIII, when marching against the Aragonese of Naples; but the king would not see him, in consequence of the hatred felt in France against Pius II, who, on the strife between the Aragonese and the Prince of Anjou, had shown a perhaps over-partial favor to the former.

On the death of Alexander VI, Cæsar Borgia, Duke of Valentinois, ordered the Vatican to be pillaged, and carried off over three hundred thousand ducats. This violence was a natural consequence of the authority which the nephews assumed even after the death of their papal relation.

Borgia, who is to be classed with papal nephews, did not stop here. At the head of twelve thousand men, he besieged the Castle of Sant' Angelo and invested the Vatican, where the conclave was to open, in order to force the electors to impossible concessions. The cardinals, to escape the imminent danger, assembled in the Church of La Minerva. They were besieged there by Borgia's troops under Micheletto Coreglia, but rescued by the Roman people, who suddenly ran to arms to defend the Sacred College.

Valentinois, at the request of the ambassadors of France, Spain, and Prosper Colonna, came expressly to Rome, and, being struck down by a stubborn fever that prevented his mounting a horse or even directing any military operations, had himself carried on a litter to Nepi.

The cardinals, breathing more freely, armed four thousand Romans and celebrated the obsequies of Alexander VI in the Vatican.

Meanwhile a French army was also in Rome, on its march to attack the Aragonese in Naples, another consequence of French pretensions to the Neapolitan throne. To leave the Sacred College at liberty, the French general, at the request of the cardinals, marched out of Rome.

On the thirtieth day after Alexander's death thirty-six cardinals met. They began by laying down several stipulations that the new pope was to sign, and deemed by them essential to the reform of ecclesiastical discipline. Their next thought was to elect a successor to the late pope.

One of the candidates was Cardinal George d'Amboise, Archbishop of Rouen; but the Avignon popes were still remembered by the Italian cardinals. George, moreover, a man of mild and affable manners, deemed himself well supported by his own desire, by the undisputed power of his master Louis XII, and by the respected virtues of that great prince.

Cardinal de la Rovera, on his side, was no less ambitious of the tiara. Spondanus and Oldoini speak at length of the means employed by De la Rovera to defeat the ambition of George, who had taken him into his confidence.

Some cardinals were disposed to favor the views of their old colleague, Cæsar Borgia; but his views were not very clear. Others belonged to little aimless factions. At last all united in electing, September 22, 1503, the first cardinal-deacon, Francis Todeschini Piccolomini, who, in memory of his uncle, chose the name of Pius III.

On the 30th of the same month the pope-elect was ordained priest by the cardinal of San Pietro in Vincoli; for he had enjoyed the title of Archbishop of Sienna for forty-three years, without being a priest, Pius II having given his nephew as suffragan the Blessed Anthony Fatali, who fulfilled all the episcopal duties. Pius III was consecrated bishop October 1, in one of the chambers of the Vatican, and solemnly crowned on the 8th, on the steps of Saint Peter's, by Cardinal Riario. Unable to go on horseback to take possession of Saint John Lateran, on account of a disease in his leg, the new pope, contrary to custom, performed the act of taking

possession in the Vatican church. The Jews were summoned to present "the law" to him in one of the halls of the palace. This extraordinary fact is related by Cancellieri.

The day after election there was a consistory, an unexampled act before coronation. Peace between France and Spain was discussed, and the pope promised to use all means in his power to revive the splendor of ancient discipline and to reform the Roman court as regarded the cardinals and officers. The French army, continuing near Rome, imposed heavy burdens on the people. On the 26th of September Pius permitted them to advance on Naples by the road under the walls of Rome, but not to enter the city.

At the same time Cæsar received a safe-conduct to enter the capital, but simply with an escort, unattended by troops. He pretended to thank the cardinals for the selection which they had made, affirming that it would have been his own, which was not likely. Pius was too virtuous a man to have won the approval of Cæsar.

Under the reign of Alexander the Orsini had been especially oppressed, and Cæsar had proved the pitiless butcher of one of them. The outraged family, seeing the pope confined to his bed by the disease which prevented his visiting Saint John Lateran, resolved, in spite of the safe-conduct, to take vengeance on Cæsar. His captain, Coreglia, had quite recently given the chief palace of the Orsini to the flames: this act of cruelty, added to the scenes of the Romagna, where, in 1502, Paul Orsini, and Orsini, Duke of Gravina, had been strangled by Cæsar's order within a few steps of his room, had aroused in the hearts of this powerful family the keenest desire of vengeance. They took arms and publicly provoked Cæsar. The pope, hearing of this disobedience of his orders, had Cæsar taken to the Castle of Sant' Angelo to be detained sotto cortese guardia. The pope's council thought

it a favorable moment to demand from Cæsar the restoration of the principalities which he had usurped from the Holy See or unjustly received from his father. The man who but a few days before had been the terror of Italy was now under the protection of a prison.

At the very moment when Borgia was confined, peace returned to Rome, and the Papal States and all the sacred ceremonies could proceed without interruption. The guardia cortese answered for Valentinois.

Thus did Pius III begin his pontificate; but his health was feeble: the ulcer on his leg suddenly began to mortify. At the time, an accusation was brought against Pandulph Petrucci of Sienna, tyrant of that republic, whose anger was excited to see the elevation of a noble of that city, whose family had long been persecuted by the Petrucci faction. The pope's disorder was aggravated, and he died after governing only twenty-six days. He was sixty-four years, ten months, and five days old.

Pius III promised to assemble a general council before the expiration of three years, and repeatedly renewed the engagement to proceed with the Christian armies to Turkey.

He was interred in the Vatican, in a fine marble tomb, beside Pius II; but both bodies were subsequently removed to San Andrea della Valle by Alexander Peretti, Cardinal Montalto.

The Holy See was vacant twelve days.



JULIUS II

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JULIUS II—A.D. 1503

JULIUS II, originally named Giuliano della Rovera, was born on the 15th of December, 1443, at Albisola, near Savona, and was the son of Raphael de la Rovera, brother of Pope Sixtus IV, and Theodora Manerola.

In 1471 his uncle named him Bishop of Carpentras, and on the 15th of December in the same year created him cardinal-priest of Saint Peter in Vinculis. It is said that Alexander VI begged the cardinals not to elect the Cardinal de la Rovera. Nevertheless, when they entered the conclave, they commenced by declaring against their colleague Cardinal George d'Amboise, prime minister of France, and then elected, on the 31st of October, the Cardinal de la Rovera, who took the name of Julius II. He was crowned on the 26th of November, and on the 5th of December he took possession of Saint John Lateran.

To give some idea of the manner, in those times, of negotiating when it was known that the conclave had assembled to choose a pope, we shall give a letter received by Machiavelli from the signiory of Florence on the death of Pius III.

Machiavelli had been sent on the 24th of October, 1503, to Rome. Naturally it was uncertain who would be pope, and the letters of credit were to be presented to Cardinal Soderini, brother of the gonfalonier of Florence.

“Nicholas, you will promptly repair to Rome. You will present our letters to any of the cardinals to whom sincere respect is due, as Rouen, Saint George (Raphael Riario), San Severino (a Milanese), San Pietro in Vincoli (Giuliano della

Rovera). You will visit them in our name, and make known to them that, just as we had appointed ambassadors, we were informed of the death of the pope, at which the whole city is much concerned. That, in consequence, our ambassadors have been recalled; that, nevertheless, we desire to make known to the cardinals our great grief, and how much we desire that a new pontiff may be elected adequate to the needs of Christendom and of Italy.

“That, knowing their disposition on that head, we offer them all our aid.

“To each you will address the language which you deem fitting, consistently with the instructions which you receive from our most reverent Cardinal Soderini, with whom you will confer before you fulfil your mission.”

The first letter of Machiavelli is not to be found. By the second, bearing date Rome, 28th of October, he announces that he has had a conference with Cardinal d’Amboise, who accepts and reciprocates the affection of the republic.

On the 1st of November Machiavelli writes: “Magnificent lords, I inform you, with the grace of God, that this morning the cardinal of Saint Peter in Vinculis was proclaimed pope. May God make him a pastor serviceable to Christendom!”

At a later period he writes that the creation and the publication were extraordinary.

“This pope,” Machiavelli writes, “was elected in open conclave. Whoever will reflect upon the favors this cardinal has received must deem them miraculous. All the factions in the conclave were for him; the King of Spain and the King of France both wrote to the Sacred College in his favor. The barons of the different parties lent him their support. Saint George (Riario da Savona) favored him, and so did the Duke of Valentino. It is evident he has powerful friends, and it

is said that that is because he has always been a good friend, and therefore has good friends."

On the 2d of November the ten sent Machiavelli fresh credentials for Pope Julius, and on the 8th the Florentine secretary had an audience with the pontiff. Nicholas, in the name of the republic, congratulated the pope on his accession. Then, taking occasion to speak of the attacks upon Romagna meditated by the Venetians, he made this somewhat satirical reflection: "If the Venetians are successful there, then there will be no more liberty for Florence, and the pope will become chaplain to the Venetians." The Duke of Valentinois, also, was attacked in the heart of his States. Machiavelli relates that, having an interview with Cardinal d'Amboise, the latter said: "Hitherto God has allowed no crime to go unpunished; he will punish the crimes of this duke."

Julius said nothing about his plans. Machiavelli endeavored to penetrate the intentions of the pope and the influential cardinals as respected Valentinois, the impure dregs of a late reign, and destined to become the embarrassment of the new one. The Florentine well remarks that that Romagnol was not liked by the pope, who, however, feared to break faith with him. All were willing enough to drive him from Rome. It was required that he should embark at Ostia, and that his exacting and undisciplined army should go to Sinigaglia.

A letter of the 14th of November contains some particulars about the contagious disease which broke out at Rome at the very time of the election. Residence in that city had become perilous, because want of police and the neglect of the government allowed that scourge to extend its ravages. However, Machiavelli, relishing his post, evinced no desire to return to Florence. In another letter he speaks of the contagion thus indifferently and almost gaily: "The pest does

its duty right well; it does not spare the houses of the cardinals, or any other in which it can have its own way. But no one cares much about it.”

We must finish with Cæsar Borgia.

Driven on by the pontifical government, which expelled him, and by the Tuscans, who refused him a safe-conduct, he went so far as to say to Machiavelli: “I will make it up with my enemies the Venetians, or even with the devil. I will go to Pisa with all the money, troops, and friends that I can command, and I will do you all the harm that I possibly can do you.”

Julius displayed great ability. He succeeded in getting rid of Valentinois, who was no more seen in Rome. Subsequently, a refugee in Spain, he perished at the siege of a city that he was sent to reduce.

In all quarters the first steps of Julius were awaited with anxiety.

By circular letters he notified all the sovereigns of his exaltation and of his desire to abate the Turkish power; and he entreated them to make peace among themselves.

At the same time, following the example of Alexander VI, who had allowed Manuel, King of Portugal, to marry in succession two sisters, Julius, on the 23d of December, 1503, granted to Henry VIII, second son of Henry VII, King of England, the necessary dispensation to marry Catharine, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, and widow of Arthur, elder brother of Henry. She had no children by Arthur, who married her when he was only fifteen, and who, on account of his delicate health, had never met her except in the midst of the English court. All these facts appear in the report which Julius ordered to be made to him. The marriage took place June 11, 1509.

Julius ascended the throne with the inflexible purpose of

recovering all the possessions belonging of right to the Church. Accordingly, in 1504, he announced to Loredano, doge of Venice, that that republic must restore to the Holy See Faenza, Rimini, and other places which had been usurped since the death of Alexander VI. That pope had given to his son Cæsar Borgia a part of Romagna. Loredano and Cæsar now promised to order their officers to restore the fortresses in that province; but the Venetians had also other restitutions to make on the frontiers of the same country.

Julius recalled the Colonnas from exile, and restored their lands, which Alexander had usurped. Then he gave his sister Luchina's daughter Lucretia in marriage to Antonio Colonna, and gave as her marriage portion the seigniorial rights of the city of Frascati.

At length Forli, in spite of the intrigues of Valentinois, returned to its legitimate owner.

Julius then persistently demanded Rimini and Ravenna from the Venetians, Perugia from Baglioni, and Bologna from Bentivoglio.

Henry VIII of England, seeing that his paternal uncle, Henry VI, was honored as a saint by the English, asked leave from Julius to remove the body of that prince from the unfit tomb in which it had been laid by men envious of his virtues, to the royal burial-place in Westminster; and also besought the pope to canonize that prince. Julius willingly granted the first request; as to the second, following the example of Innocent VIII and Alexander VI, the pope ordered that the Archbishop of Canterbury and three other prelates should obtain authentic information as to the virtues and miracles of the princely servant of God.

Louis XII having recovered from a serious illness, under circumstances which had increased the devotion of the French, Julius ordered that solemn processions should be

made in the kingdom in thanksgiving to God for the preservation of a good prince.

By a constitution published on the 14th of January, 1505, the pope annulled the ulterior election of any pope, although already crowned and recognized by the nations, if the election were tainted by simony. He also ordered the deposition of cardinals who should be guilty of the like crime, and gave power to cardinals who had not been guilty of it to convoke a general council and solicit the support of the secular princes against every pontiff thus elected. Michaud, in the *Biographie Universelle*, pronounces the following judgment upon this fact: "Julius was anxious to satisfy the requirements of his new dignity by a bull which annulled, for the future, every election of a pope tainted by intrigue or simony; fettering the ambition of those who might succeed him by a measure no longer applicable to himself."

We now come to one of the finest of this pope's labors. Julius, considering that, owing to its antiquity, the Basilica of Saint Peter had become ruinous, conceived in his ambitious mind the idea of building a temple worthy of the Prince of the Apostles. He was the first pontiff who could justly pride himself upon laying the foundation-stone of one of the most magnificent buildings in the world. He adopted the designs of Lazarus Bramante, who was succeeded in the direction of the buildings by Fra Giocondo di Verona, Raphael d'Urbino, Julius de Sangallo, Michelangelo Buonarroti, Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola, Jacopo della Porta, Carlo Maderno, Lorenzo Bernini, and Domenico and Carlo Fontana, all names dear to the arts, and especially so to the science of architecture.

The cost of this temple, says Novaes, reached, in 1694, the sum of forty-six millions of Roman crowns; and that sum did not include the expenses of the models, of the demolished

walls, of the tower erected by Urban VIII, nor the allowances of the workmen, and of the vestments of the altar.

France was at that time at peace with the Holy See, and she solicited and obtained privileges for the Minims, founded at Rome by Charles VIII.

The Holy See recovered all that had been occupied by Cæsar Borgia. But the demands made upon the Baglioni, tyrants of Perugia, and the Bentivoglio, masters of Bologna, notwithstanding some appearances of success, had not the results which were so earnestly desired by Julius II. Leaving the cardinal-bishop of Frascati as his legate at Rome, he marched against Perugia at the head of an army. The Baglioni fled at the news of the pope's approach; and as he advanced upon Bologna the Bentivoglio made no greater resistance. The pope entered that city on the 10th of November, 1506, under thirteen triumphal arches. He had not a single battle, and his triumph cost not a single human life.

Machiavelli, the Florentine ambassador to Julius II, was an eye-witness of that campaign, and his account of it will be read with some interest.

The pope, after being assured of the consent of France and Venice, immediately began his march. Machiavelli was at Civita Castellana on the 28th of August, and Julius gave him audience in presence of Cardinal Soderini. The secretary began by stating to the pope what was the basis of his instructions. He somewhat exaggerated them, stating that the republic beheld with pleasure the confirmation of the support of France, and applauded the courage and consistency of His Holiness on this occasion. He then deemed it expedient to read the instructions themselves, word for word. The pope listened very attentively both to the secretary's introductory speech and to the reading of the instructions, and then said that it appeared to him that the Florentines

feared three things: (1) that the support of France was not certain; (2) that the Holy See might be lukewarm in this business; and (3) that the Holy See might come to an agreement with Bentivoglio, and so either not drive him from Bologna, or, after expelling, allow him to return.

“To the first fear the pope replied that he could give no better proof of the support of King Louis XII than by producing His Majesty’s own handwriting; for his own part, he, the pope, was quite content with that prince’s signature. He then asked the Archbishop of Aix for the commission which he had brought from France. He showed the Florentine ambassador the French king’s own signature, and read two articles concerning Bologna. His Majesty urged His Holiness to make that expedition presto, presto—quickly, quickly; and promised him the aid of four or five hundred lances, commanded by a valiant knight, Monseigneur d’Allègre, and the Marquis of Mantua.

“To the second fear the pope replied that he could not be accused of lukewarmness; that he was on the road, and that it was impossible to show greater warmth in the cause than by being there in person.

“To the third fear the pontiff replied that he would not leave Giovanni Bentivoglio at Bologna; that he, Bentivoglio, would not be so insane as to remain there as a private man; that the papal government would so arrange matters that Bentivoglio should never return to that city during the life of the present pope, and that Julius II did not know what might after his death be done by another pope.”

In the evening, Machiavelli having encountered the pope as he was going to visit the fortress of Civita Castellana (which did not happen frequently), His Holiness repeated to the Florentine, word for word, what had been said in the morning.

On the 13th of September the pope entered Perugia in tri-

umph. "But," says Machiavelli, "the troops of Bagliano are in greater force than those of the pope, who is thus at the discretion of the lord from whom he has just wrested his possessions.

"The pope continued on his way and reached San Marino, and thence Cesena. In that city two ambassadors from the emperor to the pope were announced, the cardinal-bishop of Brixen (Melchior Cops, created cardinal by Alexander VI, in 1503), and the Marquis of Brandenburg, one of the ancestors of the present King of Prussia.

"In the meantime Bolognese ambassadors arrived and were admitted to the presence of the pope. They kissed his feet and retired without uttering a word. On the following day, in a long discourse, they endeavored to touch his feelings by describing their former absolute dependence upon the Holy See. They quoted the treaties made by that city with many pontiffs, treaties confirmed by Julius himself, and they complacently alluded to the polite conduct of their citizens, their religious feelings, and their submission to the laws. The pope replied that if the people were submissive to the States of the Church, it was no more than was their duty, for such was their covenanted obligation, and the Holy See was as good a master as the people could be faithful subjects. His Holiness had come in person to deliver the people from their tyrants. The pope added that, with respect to treaties, he would go into no examination of what had been done by other popes or by himself, for they and he could only act as they had done; that necessity, and not choice, had decided the confirmations that had been obtained; that it was time to revise the treaties; that it seemed to him that he should be inexcusably guilty before God if he were to neglect that revision, and that he came for that purpose. That he desired the happiness of Bologna; that therefore he would personally enter Bologna; that if he found laws that pleased him, he

would confirm them—if otherwise, he would alter them; and that if arms were needed to effect his purpose, he would come with forces able to dominate not only Bologna but all Italy.”

We make this extract from the correspondence of Machiavelli in order to show the vigorous policy of Julius. He owed all the advantage obtained in this war to France. From that time, with the exception of the brief existence of the Cisalpine Republic and of the kingdom of Italy, Bologna has always acknowledged the supremacy of the popes.

At the commencement of the following year the pope returned to Rome and made a promotion of cardinals, among whom was the celebrated Ximenes, who for a long time was prime minister of Spain, and was justly renowned as one of the ablest statesmen of the time.

Cardinal Carvajal, pontifical legate, had the happiness to induce the Emperor Maximilian and the King of France to sign a peace. At that time the Venetians had invaded Trieste and the county of Gorizia, and the Holy Father had not obtained the restitutions that he had called for; and therefore he did not hesitate to give his adhesion to the treaty of Cambray, the object of which was to humble the pride of Venice.

In that treaty, which the King of Spain approved, Julius was engaged to lay an interdict on Venice and its possessions. In this case the excommunication was not the work of the pope; it was called for by three of the most powerful princes of Europe, the emperor and the kings of France and Spain, which proves once again that the much-calumniated measure of excommunication was part and parcel of the jurisprudence of the age.

The Venetians, in spite of the bull of Pius II which forbade that kind of resistance, appealed to a future council. The

pope condemned their appeal by an edict of 1509, adding the gravest censures. The battle of Agnadello, which was gained by the French, and in which the Venetians lost eight thousand of their best troops, compelled the republic to make peace, to restore Brescia, Bergamo, Como, and Cremona, and to ask the Holy Father's pardon, promising him that they would restore the usurped territories and make many concessions serviceable to ecclesiastical discipline and the maintenance of the pontifical authority.

In 1510 the Venetian embassy appointed to effect this reparation arrived at Rome. The pope, seated on his throne at the door of the Vatican Basilica, pronounced absolution from the penalties incurred, only imposing the penance of visiting the seven churches. It was noticed that Julius, on this occasion, ordered that the ambassadors should not receive the slight blow with a wand usually given to those who received absolution from censures or excommunication.

The pope subsequently declared that, in order to show himself really the common father of the faithful, he should retire from the league of Cambray. This time it was the lay powers that persisted in the application of ecclesiastical penalties, and the spiritual power that abstained from prolonging them.

But those weapons were not to sleep. The French wished the pope to remain in the league of Cambray, and at the same time were for protecting the Duke of Ferrara, a feudatory of the Holy See, who refused to restore the salt-works of Comacchio to the pope. An army of Louis XII aided the resistance of the duke. Julius excommunicated the commanders of that army, and this first discord led to fatal results. In order to support his censures by his presence, Julius repaired to Bologna. Some of the French and Spanish cardinals disapproved of the pope's course.

Louis XII also shared a marked desire to lower the pontifical authority. He consulted his clergy at Orléans, and then at Tours, where decisions were arrived at that were but little favorable to the rights of Julius. The pope now thought it necessary to draw to his side the Catholic king, Ferdinand V. Louis XII, since the death of Charles VIII, had not done homage and made oath for the kingdom of Naples, which he possessed; and he had alienated many of the rights of that kingdom without the consent of the papal agents, and even in their presence and in spite of their absolute prohibition. Julius, exerting his ancient right, declared that the seignories of Naples and Gaeta had reverted to the Holy See, and he gave them to Ferdinand under the known conditions, thus annulling the compacts between the pontiff and the Most Christian King.

The pope personally continued an active war in the neighborhood of Ferrara, and after a defeat he retired to Bologna. There he was in danger of falling into the hands of the Marshal de Chaumont, commanding the French army. The pope was afterwards nearly made prisoner by the Chevalier Bayard; but, the weather being stormy, Julius suspended his journey and turned back, thus avoiding the towns in which the chevalier awaited him. Among the blessings granted to "the good knight Bayard, without fear and without reproach," was that of his failure in that enterprise. It would have been a most deplorable success for Bayard, especially if the passions of that unhappy time had not left him free to follow the promptings of the generous sentiments which we doubt not would have been awakened in him at sight of such a prisoner. It may be feared that the soldier would have fettered the Christian, and perhaps have tarnished some pages of a life so beautiful and worthy of admiration in the sight of men and of religion. It is but too certain that

Bayard would not then have been able to say to his sword what he said to it when he knighted Francis I: "You are fortunate to have this day knighted so virtuous and powerful a king! Certes, my good sword, you will be much better kept and honored, and I shall wield you no more, unless against Turks, Saracens, or Moors."

We cannot omit to notice here a compact honorable to Julius. For many years the houses of the Colonna and Orsini had lived in a state of suspicion, discord, and even hatred, which had disturbed many pontiffs. Under Julius those two illustrious houses swore a perpetual peace, by an act signed at the Capitol on the 27th of August, 1511. The pontiff, in honor of this happy event, had a medal struck, on the exergue of which were these words, honorable to those powerful princes: "Pax Romana."

At this time the schismatic cardinals convoked a concilia-bule at Pisa. There they drew up several charges against the pontiff. Among the things charged were that he had gained the pontificate by improper means, for the purpose of fomenting discords among Christian princes; and that he had neglected to execute the decree of the Council of Constance, which ordered that a council should be assembled every ten years. It might have been answered that that decree had been neglected by the predecessors of Julius because experience had shown that the frequency of councils caused more disorders in the Church, so few bishops attending them, and thus men prone to revolt had opportunity to demand new and often mischievous institutions.

It is true that many authors have accused Julius of obtaining the pontificate by gifts, promises, entreaties, and threats. But Novaes quotes Father Oldoini, who, in his appendices to Chacon, declares the accusation to be a calumny. Julius, says he, was magnificent, liberal, a great lover of the truth,

and a zealous defender of ecclesiastical liberty and of the pontifical dignity; such were his claims which raised him to the pontificate. He would not during his reign have been so great an enemy to simony if he had become pope by questionable means, nor would he so sternly have condemned the simonists.

Formal interdict was pronounced against the city of Pisa.

The people expelled the cardinals who had brought such a misfortune upon the city. The cardinals then removed their congress to Milan. But there the clergy spontaneously closed the churches against them, and they were obliged to go to Lyons, which ere long was laid under interdict.

Julius was undismayed by the threats of the conciliabule of Pisa, which in its best day was but a revival of the most degraded period of the conciliabule of Bâle, with a mixture of that of Lausanne.

That courageous pontiff infused new order into his troops. This reform was then indispensable; the strictest mind must confess that. He summoned to him his allies, and preserved to himself that high degree of power to which he had raised the authority of the sovereign pontiffs.

Heedless of peril, he rejoined his troops, accompanied by only three cardinals, and he ventured to lay siege to Mirandola. He took up his quarters in a peasant's cot, exposed to the fire of the artillery of the fortress. In the depth of winter, at the age of seventy, he went by night from post to post; he urged on the works and encouraged the soldiers; often several of his servants were stricken down at his side. At length the city, despairing of relief, surrendered, and he, the conquering general, entered the breach like some young soldier of twenty years.

At length, doubtless by the advice of the pious cardinal Del Monte, more pontifical sentiments prevailed. It was re-

solved in the Sacred College that council should be opposed to council, as had been done in the time of Eugene IV against the Fathers of Bâle. Thus by a bull of the 18th of July, 1511, a general council, the nineteenth, was convoked for the 19th of April, 1512, in the palace of Saint John Lateran. But it could not be commenced until the 3d of May, because in the month of April the French took the cities of Faenza, Imola, and Forli, and because a conspiracy was discovered for the expulsion of the pope from Rome.

The Holy Father presided over the labors of the council, which was not concluded until the reign of Leo X, in the year 1517. In the meantime Julius signed a league with the emperor, the King of Spain, and the King of England, against Louis XII. The last-named king was again excommunicated in 1512, at the request of the allies. But already the pope began to feel the approaches of death; he was suffering from an incurable disorder. On the 17th of August he fell so seriously ill that for some time his servants thought life extinct. The report of his death spread so rapidly that some of the malcontent cardinals entered Rome. Some seditious people, headed by Pompey Colonna, incited the populace to demand their ancient liberties—which, in the existing circumstances, only meant new disasters to Rome. Julius was restored to consciousness by his physician, Scipio Lancelotti, who administered a leech. He immediately summoned the cardinals around him. He pardoned his nephew, the Duke of Urbino, for a grave offence the pontiff had received from him—no less than the death of Cardinal Alidosi, ordered by the duke. But, says Novaes, there was no time to recur to the formalities of law. Julius declared to the cardinals that it was for them alone, and not for the council, to name his successor; that they could grant the right of voting to the absent cardinals, but not to the schismatic cardi-

nals. By these latter he meant the heads of the Council of Pisa. As regarded these, he added: "As Giuliano della Rovera, I pardon them in all sincerity of heart; but as Julius, head of the Church, we must vindicate our right, and we exclude them from the election."

He then turned his thoughts to the mode of electing his successor. He confirmed the constitution, described in the previous pages, which invalidated every election stained by simony, even though followed by a coronation and official recognition by the States of Christendom. Julius then resumed his usual occupations, but with weakened faculties and sinking health. He died on the 21st of February, 1513, after a reign of nine years, three months, and twenty days. He had received the sacraments with marks of the greatest piety, and regulated his funeral, excluding all magnificence. He was at first interred at the Vatican, beside the tomb of his uncle, Sixtus IV, whence he was removed to a magnificent mausoleum, the admirable work of Michelangelo, at Saint Peter in Vinculis.

Some authors declare this tomb to be only a cenotaph, and say that Julius was interred in the vaults of Saint Peter's. Writers who describe the monuments of that basilica say that the body of Julius still remains there. Every one who has visited Rome knows that on this tomb at Saint Peter in Vinculis stands the statue of Moses, the finest piece of modern sculpture.

The glory of Julius was in its zenith. He had filled Italy and all Europe with his renown; he saw at his feet the most powerful of his enemies. The cardinal of Luxemburg, one of the first who had abandoned the party of the revolt, asked for peace in the name of Louis XII. Queen Anne, who shuddered at the mere name of schism, and the Duke of Valois, afterwards King Francis I, wrote to the pope in terms of the

most pious submission. But the melancholy spectacle of the tomb, says Novaes, threw its dark shadows over all the objects which had agitated the life of the pontiff; and in his last moments he said: "Would to God that we had never been pope, or at least that we could have turned all the arms of religion against the enemies of the Holy See!" In this last penitent wish there was still the old passion for military glory.

Julius was of unconquerable fortitude in adversity, and implacable towards rebels; and he would not brook a single affront. On the other hand, he was liberal, courteous, faithful to his word, munificent, constant, and an indomitable defender of ecclesiastical liberty and the papal dignity.

Julius II was the first pope who allowed his beard to grow, to give himself a more majestic and imposing appearance; he was imitated by Francis I, and afterwards by Charles V. That fashion passed to the courtiers, and from them to the multitude. Feller, at the end of his article on Julius, gives the following judgment:

"John Stella, in his *Lives of the Popes*, paints this pontiff in the fairest colors; nothing can be added to the praises that he bestows upon him. Other writers give a harsh account of Julius. One can scarcely rely upon what authors say of the great men who have lived in troublous times; each speaks of them in the spirit of party. However, our own opinion is that the sublimity of his station was forgotten by this pope. He did not perceive what his wise successors in our days so well understand, that the Roman pontiff is the common Father, and that he should be the arbiter of peace, and not the firebrand of war."

It is not true that Julius one day threw into the Tiber the keys of Saint Peter to use only the sword of Saint Paul, as so many historians have affirmed.

The Holy See was vacant seventeen days.

LEO X—A.D. 1513

LEO X, originally named John de' Medici, was born at Florence on the 11th of December, 1475. Michelangelo was born at Caprese in the same year. The father of John was Lorenzo de' Medici, surnamed the Magnificent; his mother was Clara, or Clarissa, of the great family of the Orsini.

Louis XI, King of France, granted to John, while he was still very young, the dignity of archbishop; and Innocent VIII, who, when John was only seven years old, had named him apostolic prothonotary, created him cardinal when he was only fourteen, but under the condition that he was not to bear the insignia of the cardinalate until three years later, in 1492. That honor was in compliment to Lorenzo, because he had given his daughter Magdalen in marriage to Franceschetto Cibo, son of the same pontiff.

John, in the same year, was named legate and appointed to reside at Florence.

Julius II afterwards sent John as legate in Romagna. There he was obliged to be present at the celebrated battle of Ravenna, in 1512. Cardinal John, who had the entire confidence of Julius and was in command of his troops, was encamped at Budrio, and prepared to relieve Brescia. Unfortunately, his lieutenants spent more time to take counsel than it cost Gaston de Nemours to take a citadel. It was only the aged Julius II who was able to rival in activity a young man of twenty-four.

Gaston was not only a captain of prodigious activity; he was also endowed with great penetration. Fearlessly ex-



LEO X

posing Brescia, he offered battle to the Spaniards Fabricius Colonna and Navarra, who occupied a formidable position on a height, where the artillery, commanded by the latter and well equipped, endeavored to check the French fury of attack. But when the hostile banners commanded by Gaston were seen, a thrill ran through the hitherto motionless masses. The soldiers broke their ranks, rushed to the tent of Cardinal John de' Medici, and knelt to implore his blessing, which the cardinal gave with a silver cross blessed by the pope. This pious spectacle could be seen from the French camp. We shall call it to mind at a fatal moment in the reign of Clement VII. Gaston was eager to fight; but Yves d'Allègre prudently restrained his young friend, pointing out to him those kneeling masses of soldiers whose beards were blanched in a hundred fights, and made him take note of the sloping ground which was so favorable to artillery practice. The battle was deferred. The whole of the allied army was under the command of the cardinal, as head of the Holy League. He had neither sword nor coat of mail; his costume was that proper to his rank, a red robe, a pectoral cross, and the biretta. Mounted on a white horse, he passed from the Spanish ranks to the Italian ranks, saluting the officers, and encouraging the soldiers, and exhorting all to do their duty, to serve Julius II, their spiritual master, in the name of Italy, their motherland or country of adoption.

If we glance at the French ranks, we shall discern in the corps commanded by La Palice another cardinal, Frederic of San Severino, marching at their head fully armed, helmet on his head, sword by his side, and baldric on his shoulder. He was conspicuous for his tall stature, his thick beard, and the legatine insignia borne before him; for he represented in the French camp the cardinals opposed to Julius.

The battle at length began, and the Spaniards were beaten. John de' Medici was taken prisoner and conveyed to Milan, where the French and the Milanese received him with respect, bowing before the representative of that august papacy that had already done so much to civilize Italy and the rest of Europe. Unhappily, Germany was to reward the Holy See by letting loose enemies against it.

Regaining his liberty through the courage of one of his servants, the cardinal succeeded in reaching Rome.

Julius II was dead, and in a conclave that was opened on the 4th of March, 1513, John was elected pope in compliance with the solicitations of the youngest cardinals, who desired a pope only thirty-seven years old. It has been said that Cardinal Antonio Petrucci, after announcing the election to the people in the ordinary terms, added: "*Ac vigeant valeant que juvenes!*"—"And let the youngest flourish and avail!" But this cannot be true; no cardinal publicly addressing the people can depart from the ordinary form. The cardinal said what it was his duty to say, and nothing more. Moreover, the announcement of the election of John was made by Cardinal Alexander Farnese, the first deacon, who made it in the usual form. It is possible that Cardinal Petrucci may have whispered some such words to a cardinal near him.

Lenglet affirms that the Emperor Maximilian sought to exchange his imperial insignia for the papal robe. He was a widower and flattered himself that he could become pope. The accession of John de' Medici, who took the name of Leo X, put an end to such hopes.

Holy Week approached; the new pope was ordained priest on the 15th of March, and consecrated on the 17th.

The coronation took place on the 19th. The ornamenting the streets alone cost a hundred thousand Roman crowns, and a like sum was given to the poor.

On the 11th of April Leo took possession of Saint John Lateran, riding the same white horse that bore him when captured by the French at the battle of Ravenna.

In this ceremony he was the last pope who sat on the porphyry seat placed under the vestibule of the church. The standard of the Church was borne before the pope by the Duke of Ferrara, who walked on the right of His Holiness, who was also accompanied by the Duke of Urbino and by the Duke of Camerino. Before the pope, mounted on a noble steed, rode his cousin, afterwards Clement VII, bearing the standard of the order of Saint John of Jerusalem.

Leo, before leaving the conclave, had chosen two secretaries, Peter Bembo and James Sadolet. The latter, born at Modena on the 14th of July, 1477, had one of those robust constitutions, with massive brow, ruddy complexion, well-developed muscles, and athletic build, such as mountain countries produce, and such as Julio Romano has introduced into his picture of the battle between Constantine and Maxentius. When advanced in years, Sadolet must have resembled one of those old men pictured by Rubens in his "Descent from the Cross," in the cathedral of Antwerp. Like Julius II, Sadolet wore his beard—long, bushy, trimmed to a point, and surmounted by two semicircular moustaches. But for his ecclesiastical habit, no one would have taken this hirsute countenance for that of a scholar; he would have passed for an old warrior. Sadolet had adopted Virgil as his favorite poet. When eighteen years old he abandoned Virgil for Aristotle; but he soon preferred Saint Paul to either, and he commentated the writings of that apostle in search of an explanation of those minor mysteries of which revelation alone could give him the complete solution.

Bembo and Sadolet had been friends from childhood. Son

of the patrician who, at Ravenna, had reared the tomb of Dante, Bembo had learned Latin under Alexander Urticio. His professor was a skilful rhetorician, with a great mania for classical antiquity, which he deemed adorable in everything—manners, institutions, theogony, and idioms. No doubt he inspired in his pupil that fanatical adoration of paganism of which, even when he became cardinal, Bembo could not entirely divest himself. Thus when the scholar was about to be sent to Sicily, we are astonished at finding him asking for the protection of the gods. Amidst such instruction, there was but little room left for sound Catholic teaching, but a prodigious natural wit and the good example of Leo did the rest.

At the age of twenty-six Bembo was considered one of the best Hellenists of that time. At twenty-eight he was honorably received at Ferrara by Duke Alphonso and his wife, the Duchess Lucretia.

Concerning this princess the following may be quoted from Audin:

“Lucretia Borgia, who has been charged with more crimes than, probably, any casuist has ever heard of, was then in her prime. If we may credit Bembo, she not only was one of the stars of the Italian sky, a model of grace, but also a young woman who to all the gifts of nature had added those of the soul; a Florentine in her sweet tones, and a poet whose strains the nine Muses would have owned; another Lucretia, in fact.”

To her Bembo inscribed his *Asolani*. In the dedication of the work, the author enthusiastically celebrates the charms, the wit, the learning, and the virtues of the duchess. It may be asked how Bembo, rich, of noble birth, and known in the literary world, could have ventured in the face of all Italy to sing the praises of a woman who had even the slight-

est resemblance to the portrait given of her by Sannazaro and Pontano.

Whatever these writers may say, all is explained by the character of those times, and by the fact that Lucretia was a Borgia, and that, in striking at her, they, through her, struck at Pope Alexander VI.

The Asolani of Bembo enjoyed great success. He composed that book in the castle of Asola, on a mountain-top. The author is said to have intended to imitate Cicero's Tusculan Disputation, but there is no resemblance between the works, either in subject or in tone.

Sadolet and Bembo were the two men who countersigned those beautiful and eloquent letters left us by Leo X.

A third companion (we may use that word when speaking of the private and domestic life of this pope) adorned a company that all quitted with regret to go into the world of business and of duties. His third friend was Bibbiena, who was placed by Raphael beside Leo X in his "Camera di Torre Borgia," in the Vatican. Exiled with Cardinal John, Bibbiena had more than once, by his gaiety, consoled young Medici in his griefs. Bibbiena was a great admirer of Michelangelo and of Raphael, whom he compared to Phidias and Apelles.

"There," says Audin, "we have the three types of the intellectual life with which Leo X surrounded himself when he assumed the tiara. Bembo represents the pagan literary element; Bibbiena the pagan artist element; and Sadolet the Christian element. Was that single Christian element enough to meet the many disasters about to afflict the Church of Christ?"

Leo had received from nature a loving soul and a heart filled with clemency. Seeing that the Colonnas, who had some reason to complain of Julius II, did not wait upon him

early enough, not expecting them to seek a pardon, but at least to show that they valued the favor of the pontiff, he evinced some impatience at their not yet having appeared in the inner circle of his court.

Cardinal Pompey Colonna, who was one of the first to hear of the pontiff's feeling, hastened to kneel in homage at the Vatican. The pope raised him, pressed him in his arms, and with singular kindness restored to him the insignia of the purple. He showed the same liberality to Fabricius Colonna, and he gave to them both those fine gardens opposite the Quirinal, and the palace built beside the Church of the Holy Apostles. "From that time," says Novaes, "the great moderation of the pope caused him to be named the lamb, while Julius II was still spoken of as the lion."

One of the first cares of the pope was to endeavor to terminate the nineteenth general council—the fifth of Lateran. It had been commenced by Julius II, on the 3d of May, 1512, and continued to the fifth session, which was held on the 16th of February, 1513. Leo X terminated it in 1517. It had been attended successively by sixteen cardinals, three patriarchs, and a hundred and fourteen bishops and regular prelates.

On the 17th of December, 1513, in the eighth session, the acts of the pseudo-council of Pisa were condemned, and penalties imposed upon two cardinals who had already been deposed by Julius II, Carvajal and San Severino, the latter of whom we have already seen in the ranks of that French army that captured Cardinal John de' Medici. These cardinals, having returned from France, were arrested at Leghorn, placed in prison at Civita Vecchia, and thence secretly taken to Rome. The pope chose the council-hall as the scene of the reconciliation of the two sinners to their holy mother, the Church.

The two culprits, being introduced into the hall, knelt,

bowed their heads respectfully, and after some moments both rose. Then Carvajal, addressing His Holiness, said: "Pardon us our offences! Have pity upon us, our tears, our penitence; and reckon not with our iniquities, which are more numerous than the sands of the sea."

There was a brief silence, all eyes being fixed upon the supplicants. Looking kindly upon them, the pope said: "The Church is a tender mother, she pardons those who return to her. But the Church will not, by a culpable lenity, encourage the sinner to err again. In order, therefore, that you may not glory in your iniquity, we have determined to punish you."

Then, amidst a mournful silence, every one present breathlessly listening for the sentence, the pope proceeded to put a series of questions to the culprits:

"Have you not," he asked, in a stern tone, "saddened the heart, by your ingratitude, of your benefactor, your father, your judge, Julius II, of glorious memory?"

"Did you not, at Pisa, wicked as you are, incite the people to disobey your holy mother, the Apostolic Church?"

"Did you not place upon the walls of the house of God a sentence of deposition against the vicar of Christ?"

"Answer; and then pronounce your own sentence."

The two cardinals, confused, hung down their heads in silence.

"Well," said the pope, "here is a schedule which you will sign. If you subscribe it, you will obtain mercy from the Holy Apostolical See. Read."

Carvajal took the document, read it rapidly in a low voice, and laid his hand upon his heart, in token of his formal adhesion to what he had read.

"Read it aloud," said the pope.

"Most Holy Father," said Carvajal, "I cannot; I am ill and have no voice."

“You cannot?” said the pope, with a slight smile. “There must be no hesitation. You are free: if you frankly subscribe this paper, say so; if not, you can go freely back to France, whence you came, with our safe-conduct.”

San Severino then took the confession from the hands of Carvajal, and read it aloud, in the tone of a bold captain addressing soldiers, such as he had commanded at Ravenna, in company with the French. The paper contained a complete disavowal of all the acts of which both had been guilty towards the authority of the Holy See. That done, they took a pen and signed the document, and then knelt and received the absolution of the pope, who pronounced it in a tone of dignity mingled with paternal tenderness, calculated to draw tears from the most hardened. The pope descended from the throne: he was no longer the judge; he was the Father. He approached Carvajal, took his hands, and said: “Now you are our brother in our Father, since you have obeyed our will; you are the lost sheep of the Gospel, and are found again. Let us rejoice in the Lord!”

The pope then similarly embraced and addressed San Severino, whom he had seen at Milan in the position of a conqueror; and these two new sons of the Church, with their former insignia, and their places assigned in a true council, recovered peace of conscience, the friendship of the pope, and the esteem of the members of the Sacred College. A single canonical penance was imposed upon them, and it was of the lightest, in order that on that day everything should be at once regular, pious, and magnanimous. Carvajal and San Severino were to fast at least once a month during the whole remainder of their lives.

Three other cardinals had been abettors of the Council of Pisa—Borgia, De Prié, and Bricconnet.

The first was dead; the two others were included in the act of reconciliation which was addressed to the King of France.

In the tenth session the establishment of *monts-de-piété* was approved, and all were threatened with excommunication who should condemn them or consider them as favoring usury. The publication of books was forbidden until approved by the bishops and by those appointed to detect heretical depravities.

The labors of the council were occasionally interrupted, and Leo vigilantly attended to the numerous affairs which from all parts were sent to Rome for consideration.

Erasmus congratulated Leo upon his glorious labors, and we naturally find in these few words an opportunity to repeat a portion of what we have said of the popes bearing the name of Leo. It will be seen that our judgments cannot contradict that of the illustrious sage of Rotterdam. He thus writes to the pope:

“Leo X, you will give us again the prosperous government of Leo I; the erudite piety and musical taste of Leo II; the fertile eloquence of Leo III; the combined simplicity and prudence, recommended by Christ, of Leo IV; the tolerance of Leo V; the love of peace of Leo VI; the truly heavenly life of Leo VII; the integrity of Leo VIII; and the kindness of Leo IX, which diffused itself upon all. Such are the blessings you will give back to us; we have the guarantee alike of those sacred names, which are as so many oracles, and of your own past, present, and future.”

At this time letters of credit were given to legates sent both to the Muscovites and to the Maronites; and at the same time missionaries went out to destroy the errors that had been embraced by those nations.

Manuel, King of Poland, who in the preceding year had

made himself master of the Erythrean Sea, now known as the Indian Ocean, where he had found parts favorable to commerce, sent three ambassadors to renew his oath of obedience. He at the same time sent presents accruing from his conquests in the East Indies. Among other gifts, the prince sent an elephant, called Annon, endowed with singular qualities that are described by Oldoini in his additions to Chacon. The sagacious animal so greatly pleased the pope that he often went to see that he was well taken care of and supplied with the food proper for him. That elephant died two years afterwards, and Raphael was requested to make a life-size painting of him near the tower of the palace gate, where he was buried. An elegant epitaph was placed there, written in behalf of the animal's keeper.

The pope dismissed the ambassadors after entertaining them splendidly, and he sent by them to their king the golden rose, blessed, according to custom, on the fourth Sunday in Lent. To the golden rose were added the stocco (sword) and the berrettone (hat), which were blessed at Christmas, and which it was already customary to send to Christian princes who had distinguished themselves in battles in the cause of Catholicity.

In 1515 Francis I succeeded Louis XII. The new King of France, to secure the possession of the duchy of Milan, concluded peace with England and formed an alliance with the Venetians. This gave rise to an opposing league between the Emperor Maximilian, Ferdinand, King of Spain, the Duke of Milan, and the Swiss. At the same time Octavian Fregosa, doge of Genoa, to rid himself of the insults of the Adorni family, granted, with the permission of his fellow-citizens, the lordship of the republic to the French king. That prince then endeavored to add to his party the pope, who felt more inclined to embrace that of the emperor and

the King of Spain. Leo, ill advised just then by his political affinities and by fortune, could not divine who would be the victor, and declared against the hero of Ravenna.

Francis I, born on the 12th of September, 1494, was great-grandson of Louis, Duke of Orléans, son of Charles V, and husband of Valentine of Milan.

“This prince,” says Daru, “young, ardent, and full of that hot courage characteristic of the wars of the period and the nation, kept aloof from the army during the reign of Louis XII; but, roused in his indolent ease by the exploits of Gaston, he wrote to the Venetians, promising to join their general Alviani on the Adda in the course of four months; and he kept his word.” Very soon the king appeared in the fields of Marignan, where the Swiss, marching out of Milan, attacked him. Their army marched to the sound of the redoubtable horns of Uri and Unterwalden, reserved for fields of battle. The combat lasted two days. Alviani, who had sought his troops at Lodi, arrived on the field in the middle of the second day’s battle, but only at the head of fifty-six cuirassiers, who raised the Venetian battle-cry, “Marco! Marco!” Both armies thought that the whole of the Venetian troops were in line. The courage of the French was redoubled; that of the Swiss began to yield, but they made a skilful retreat, with their redoubtable horns still with their rear-guard, and thus incessantly threatening to resume the battle. After the battle, which Trivulzi called a combat of giants, Francis I claimed, as his own personal reward, that he should be knighted by the Chevalier Bayard; and afterwards he himself created several other knights. The intrepid Alviani, who had so well seconded the king, belonged to the Orsini family, and was nearly related to Leo X by his mother, Clarissa. The grief of the pope was mitigated by his family joy, which did not last long, for it was very soon

known that the heroic Alviani had died of his wounds. The consequences of victories gained in Italy are immediate and often embrace a very long course of years.

A treaty of peace soon attached Rome to the glory of Francis. The pope agreed to break off his alliance with Maximilian and the King of Spain, and to withdraw his garrisons from Piacenza and Ferrara, which a short time previously had been restored to the Holy See. Francis, on his part, promised to defend the Ecclesiastical States, the Medici, and the republic of Florence.

An interview was proposed between the pope and the French king. Some cardinals objected to Leo going to Bologna, where the king was to meet him. But the pope had more extended views; he desired to avoid the mistake of Alexander VI, who awaited in Rome the passage of the army of Charles VIII. Leo therefore commenced his journey, accompanied by eighteen cardinals, thirty prelates, and a portion of the Roman court.

To welcome her illustrious son Florence spared no expense. Painters, sculptors, architects, and especially poets came in numbers, eager to show their gratitude to the enlightened prince who reigned at Rome. The architects opened ways in the ancient walls that the papal procession might deploy in all its magnificence. Scholars invented devices and inscriptions in the antique style; poets improvised odes in Latin and in French, which choirs of youths and maidens sang as His Holiness passed. Leo X evinced his gratification at these ingenious manifestations of love. He stopped to listen to the songs improvised in his honor; to read the Latin inscriptions which adorned every triumphal arch; to admire the inspirations of the painters, sculptors, and architects; and to contemplate the columns, the statues, and the trophies that Florence had reared at

every step. When he beheld the statue of his father Lorenzo, he bowed his head in token of respect, and he was seen to shed tears. He felt a strange emotion as he saw upon the pedestal of the statue the words, "Hic est filius meus dilectus"—"This is my beloved son." The people crowding the streets, and clustering on hastily constructed balconies, and even on the roofs of the houses, shouted, "Palle! Palle!" (Palle—the Balls; the arms of the Medici.) The treasurer of His Holiness threw pieces of money among the crowd.

On the 8th of December the pope arrived at Bologna, and Francis I reached there three days later. On the day of audience, the pope, wearing his pontifical robes, awaited the monarch in the hall of the consistory. The king walked between two cardinals, the seniors of the Sacred College. So great was the crowd in the apartments that for some time the king remained, as it were, imprisoned amidst the swaying mass of Italian and French nobles. He laughed at his misadventure, as he held the hand of the master of the ceremonies, whom he had taken as his introducer. Having at length got near to the throne, the king knelt and kissed the cross embroidered on the pope's slipper. His Holiness took the monarch's hand and presented him his cheek. Francis I addressed a few animated words to the pope, to which Leo replied in a style of which he alone was the master, and which, as we learn from the Bishop of Pesaro, seemed on that day even more delicate, witty, and tender than usual. At a sign from the master of the ceremonies, the king took his place on a magnificent seat at the right hand of His Holiness. The French chancellor Duprat then approached, with head bared, and pronounced the address of obedience.

The whole assemblage admired both the young monarch, already a hero, though only twenty-two years of age, and

one of the greatest of the Roman pontiffs, who was only forty. The feeling dominated all minds, whatever efforts they made to listen to the words of Duprat.

“The address of the chancellor,” says Audin, “was a manifesto in honor of the Holy See. The orator proclaimed the titles of Rome to the love no less than to the obedience of the kingdom of France. It was, at the same time, a profession of faith of the Most Christian King towards the authority of the head of the Church.”

It was beautiful to hear the victor of Marignano exclaim, by the voice of his chancellor: “Most Holy Father, the army of the Most Christian King is yours, dispose of it at your pleasure; the forces of France and her standards are yours. Leo, behold before you your most submissive son, tuus a religione, tuus jure, tuus more majorum, tuus consuetudine, tuus fide, tuus voluntate—thine by religion, thine by right, thine by the custom of his ancestors, thine by habit, thine by faith, and thine in heart.”

The address being ended, the king bowed in token of his assent, and Leo replied in terms full of benevolence, and, as usual, simple, sweet, and harmonious.

His Holiness then took Francis by the hand, and led him to an apartment where His Holiness was to take off his pontifical costume. The king went to the window, where the pope soon joined him.

The pope then celebrated Mass in presence of the king in the Church of Saint Petrona. The king would not use the praying-desk set before him, but either stood or knelt, with clasped hands and bowed head. The French officers all wished to receive the communion at the pope's hands, but the crowd prevented this. The king selected those whose valor or rank deserved preference. Then one of those not thus selected said aloud: “Most Holy Father, since I cannot

receive from your own hand, nor confess to the ear of your Holiness, I will confess my sinfulness in public. I fought with all my strength against the late pope, Julius II." The king, with his natural vivacity and frankness, said: "In truth, Holy Father, it is my case too; but that pontiff was our haughtiest enemy, and would have been more in place at the head of an army than in the chair of Saint Peter."

Most of the commanders confessed the same fault. Then the pope, with an appositeness full of dignity, and bowing, as though in approval of that brusque reparation, absolved all present from such censures as they might have incurred.

The pope himself and Chancellor Duprat had prepared the document which was to be signed by both parties, and which established a host of points tending to make peace between the Holy See and France in all that concerned religious interests.

In 1516 Leo beatified Philip Benizi, a Florentine, a zealous extender of his order, the Servants of Mary; and at the solicitation of Emmanuel, King of Portugal, he permitted the annual celebration in honor of Saint Elizabeth, queen of that kingdom, subsequently canonized by Pope Urban VIII.

By a brief that same year the Holy Father permitted the cultus of seven Franciscan martyrs—Daniel, Samuel, Angelo, Donno, Lei, Nicholas, and Ugolino, butchered in the kingdom of Morocco for opposing Mahometanism.

It was about that time that Leo, judicially informed of a felonious act of Francis Mary della Rovera, Duke of Urbino, and being informed subsequently that he had treacherously put Cardinal Alidosi to death, deprived him of his duchy and gave the investiture of it to Lorenzo de' Medici, son of Leo's brother Julian.

It was an act of the old nepotism, reversed by another, no less contrary to the rights of the Holy See. The successor

of Leo X restored Della Rovera to the enjoyment of that principality.

Leo, finding the thirteen cardinals then constituting the Sacred College not sufficiently favorable, made, on the 1st of April, 1517, a promotion of two cardinals. One of them was the Archbishop of Bourges, in France; the other, the Archbishop of Cambrai, a Fleming.

On the 1st of July in the same year Leo created thirty-one cardinals at once. So numerous a promotion had never before been made. Among those cardinals, who were chosen from all the Italian principalities, was John Salviati, a noble Florentine, related to King Francis I. The last on the list was Alphonso of Portugal, sixth son of King Emmanuel. Alphonso was only seven years old, and was not to receive and wear the insignia of the cardinalate until he was fourteen. He was the first to introduce into the churches of Portugal the custom of instructing children in the Christian doctrine. Among the new cardinals, eight were Romans, and three were said to be allied to the family of the pope.

Leo did not lose sight of preparations for war against Turkey. He knew that there were in Germany machinations against the Holy See, and he wished the princes to occupy themselves more about the interests of Catholicism and to conclude a lasting peace among themselves.

In 1518 Maximilian had assembled, at Augsburg, several German princes who were to agree upon measures for securing the success of the new crusade.

To aid these glorious efforts Leo sent but five legates. Cardinal Campeggio went to the King of England, where for two hundred years a cardinal a latere had not been seen; Cardinal Egidio went to Spain; Cardinal Farnesi, and subsequently Cardinal Gaetani, to Maximilian; and, finally, Cardinal Bibbiena was to solicit further marks of friendship

from the faithful Francis I. A few days after giving their credentials to these cardinals, Leo ordered a solemn procession, in which the pope and his cardinals walked barefooted. This was to return thanks to God that the princes had promised to be at peace with each other for five years and to make war upon the Turks. Leo addressed fervent prayers to God for the restoration of Jerusalem and Constantinople to the Christian empire.

By order of His Holiness, Cardinal Gaetani delivered to Maximilian the sword and the hat that had recently been blessed by the pope.

But the unexpected death of Maximilian, in 1519, cooled the partisans of the Catholic war. The frenzy of Luther had already declared a fatal war against the Roman Church. Luther was supported by Frederic, Duke of Saxony, to whom, nevertheless, the pope had lately sent the golden rose, blessed at Saint Peter's, as a gift justly bestowed upon his wisdom, his courage, his disinterestedness, and his generosity. But all these provisions and others, such as sending the cardinal's hat to Albert (son of John IV, Elector of Brandenburg), already Archbishop of Magdeburg and Mainz, and the despatch of letters, strong or pathetic, and requests amounting even to actual supplication, were useless. A moral conflagration terrified all Germany. Never was the Holy See more externally honored; never was its ruin more perfidiously sworn.

The commencement of Luther's schism belongs to the reign of Leo X.

Audin says:

"The Reformation is a double phenomenon, social and religious. In the outset, Luther found gathered at his hand the elements of that movement that was to disturb the world. He did not create them, as it has often been asserted

that he did; he only used them. The germ of Protestantism existed when Luther appeared. The action of the doctor of Wittenberg upon his century has been the subject of hosts of works, in which his language is said to have been more powerful than that of any other writer; or his thought is represented as intuitively piercing the future, or his knowledge of the divine Word is rated above that of all Catholic geniuses, and his work compared to a revelation.

“We shall see, in his duel with authority, whether the Augustine monk was not a man, and whether he was free from the frailties of our nature.

“The Reformation was violent from the beginning. It was not contented with expelling our religious from their convents, and our priests from their churches; it calumniated them in their morals and in their doctrines, it belittled them and dispersed or burned their books, those Catholic books especially, in which the writer, priest, religious, or jurist opposed the doctor on his evangelical mission, on his household, his private life, and his doctrines, and exhibited him, in his turn, upon the stage on which he so pitilessly had exhibited his adversaries.

“When the drama of the Reformation was complete, Luther remained alone upon the scene, without rivals and without contradictors.

“In the interest of history, we in our turn, as of our right, sit in judgment on a man who so severely judged his brothers.

“There is not a writer who took even a subordinate part in these discussions, whether for or against us, whose productions we have not carefully studied.

“Such a man as Luther survives not only in his works and in the narratives of his contemporaries; wherever he has set

down his foot he has left imperishable traces. The life of the doctor was at once a combat and a pilgrimage across Germany. Enthusiasts now visit the scenes of the great events of the Reformation as formerly our fathers visited the Holy Land. Nor have we neglected to make the same journey. We have visited Eisleben, Eisenach, Erfurt, Worms, Spires, and Wittenberg, gathering recollections and pictures which will assist in explaining our narration, and which will sometimes furnish us with useful lessons. Thus, if they show us the glass that was pressed by the lips of Luther, we demand an explanation of their disdain for the bones of the martyrs of our faith. If the Protestant sits with emotion beneath the tree which sheltered Luther near Oppenheim, surely we may demand permission to kiss the hand of one of our saints who preferred death to perjury. And if they show us the drops of ink that fell from the inkstand that Luther threw at the devil's head, we ought to have the less difficulty in obtaining pardon for the legends of some of our provinces. Our history is a book of firm conviction and entire good faith; let it be judged in the same spirit in which it is written."

Martin Luther was born in 1483; his father, Hans Luther, was a poor peasant of the little village of Möhra, in the county of Mansfeld. His mother, Margaret Lindemann, was a servant at a bathing-house; she was a virtuous woman, fearing God and loving prayer. She was considered the ornament of her sex at Eisleben. Hans had abandoned the calling of a husbandman for that of a slate-cutter; he soon became a master workman and maintained a numerous family. At Eisenach Martin studied grammar, and was soon able to read Cicero, Virgil, and Livy fluently. Then he entered a convent of Augustinians and became a

priest. His superior sent him to Rome; he saw courtiers around Julius II, and conceived a hatred of Rome and of its government.

“All the past,” says Audin, “was dead for Luther. He knew not what Rome had done for humanity; of all the popes who had been seated in the chair of Saint Peter he ignores the claims to admiration and gratitude. He left a country that was threatened by the Turk; and he forgot that if the Koran is not the Gospel, it is because a pope checked the progress of the former. He knew nothing of the crusades preached by Pius II, Innocent VIII, and Julius II, and many others. He had full opportunity to see the reign of brute force in Germany, whose barons crushed with their gauntlet every intelligence that was not submissive to their will; yet he never suspected that intelligence has, under God, no protector but the vicar of Jesus Christ upon earth; and that the papacy, in breaking material strength and compelling it to bow before moral law, gave the most beautiful spectacle that man can look upon.”

Leo published indulgences. We have seen that the custom was very ancient. The pope asked contributions, help towards the building of the temple of Saint Peter, that marvellous work of Bramante which Julius II could not complete. A new Rome, which the papacy had determined to make more magnificent than pagan Rome, began to spring from the earth. The piety of the faithful was entreated to continue the colossal work. Luther declares that he will preach against indulgences. But very soon it is not merely the abuse that he combats; he is no less angry with the spiritual remedy. The whole future life of Luther is foreshadowed in that sermon; there you will find it with his presumptuous I, only I, ostensibly supported by the words of the Bible, his disdain of tradition, and his ostentatious

contempt of the schools, and that laugh which never leaves him when Scotist or Aristotelian is in question.

Luther said to those who reproached him:

“If this is not from God, it will fall; if it comes from his holy name, it will go on.”

It was the idea of John Huss and of Wyckliff.

Luther, however, paused for a moment in his fury, and Pope Leo said: “Now, then, let us live in peace. The ax strikes no more at the foot of the tree; it only trims the branches.”

The pope was right.

“At no Christian epoch,” says Audin, “had the tiara shone with such splendor; all crowns faded before it. The pope was truly the universal monarch. Kings, princes, the great ones of the earth, and the populace, all were rivals for a glance at him; he was sung and praised in all idioms, and his image was alike in every palace and in every cottage. For the name of Leo X awakened at once all the ideas of religion, art, poetry, and of glory.”

Yet he was the sovereign whom horrible disorders were, not indeed to arrest, but to harass in his vast power.

Luther published theses subversive of all Catholic order, yet deemed it wise to seek the good will of the pope.

“Never were words more humble, with a more studied humility; in his letter there is nothing of inspiration or of spontaneity; it everywhere shows study, restraint, head-work.”

Leo X ordered Gaetani, legate at Augsburg, to endeavor to bring Luther back. Gaetani was a learned man, eloquent, and the enemy of all violence. But all was useless. Luther met gentleness with sarcasms. He appealed to the universities: they condemned him. He refused to recognize the pontifical authority, without knowing what to substi-

tute for the teachings of Jesus Christ, the Bible rightly read, traditions, and the representations addressed to him from Rome.

While these troubles were devastating Germany, Leo X, endowed with a spirit born for great things, continued his labors on the Vatican Basilica; he determined, if possible, to finish the work of Julius II.

Bramante had received from that pontiff the order to rear a temple more splendid than that which Solomon formerly built to the Lord. Saint Peter's at Rome may well be styled the work of Julius II. It was his conception; its gigantic proportions were his dream, in spite, says a contemporary historian, of the opposition of all the cardinals, who grieved over the fall of that old church of Constantine, sanctified by the bones of all the blessed, venerated in all Christendom, and the seat of such high Catholic deeds.

The church to be demolished at the period we describe was precisely that temple, with its flights of steps, its doors, its countless altars scattered here and there, made known already to our readers by the glowing picture of Hurter.

The Constantinian basilica received all honorable names. Let us mention these historic titles, since the trace of what they were applied to is about to be entirely effaced. Leo the Great called that basilica the "glorious seat of the principality of Saint Peter"; Gregory IX, "the Star of this Earth"; Nicholas III, "the Head of the Catholic Church." Bramante had no pity for the imperial work. Everything crumbled beneath the strokes of his hammer—columns of alabaster, bas-reliefs adorned with gold, marble statues, Greek mosaics, gates of bronze and silver.

After three years' preliminary labor the first stone of the new temple was laid. A solemn Mass was celebrated, at which thirty cardinals assisted. As soon as a prelate is clothed in the purple, whatever may have been his previous

studies, he is seized upon by the love of the arts, and, with more or less practical knowledge, he becomes one of the patrons of the taste for monumental buildings, which is one of the chief glories of Rome. Julius II, with his cardinals, went down to the foundations of the pillar of the dome supporting the statue of Saint Veronica, and blessed a block of marble inscribed thus:



ÆDEM PRINCIPIS APOSTOLORVM
IN VATICANO VETVSTATE ET SITV
SQUALENTEM A FVNDAMENTIS
RESTITVIT JVLIVS LIGVR
PONT. MAX. AN. MDVI.

Bramante was then sixty-six years old. He had finished the four pillars of the dome, and arched the arcades which connect them. He had begun the circular entablature which separates the dome from the arcades on which it rests, and he was about to finish the western branch of the cross, when he died.

He was buried in Saint Peter's. Unfortunately, no inscription marks the resting-place of the great architect. He carried with him from the world the secret of his plan, for, according to the custom of that time, he had only simple masons to assist him in his work. When dying, he named Raphael d'Urbino to succeed him in the great work, to whom were added Giuliano de Sangallo and his brother Giocondo. As soon as the new architects glanced at the work of Bramante they noticed signal disproportions between the dome and the pillars intended for its support. The dome, almost equal in size to the Pantheon of Agrippa, was overloaded with columns and crowned by a cupola. The pillars were overtasked and threatened to fall. The plan of Bramante had to be modified. To carry out so much magnificence and

so much admirable perfection, it was necessary that a Leo X should succeed a Julius II. Leo did not conceal that he, too, desired it to be a marvellous building. Bembo drew up a brief on this subject, which expresses Leo's confidence and affection.

“Raphael d’Urbino, independently of the art of painting, in which every one knows your excellence, you also, according to the testimony of the architect Bramante, possess the art of building. This Bramante testified when about to die, deeming you the man to be intrusted with the care of continuing the building of the Temple of the Prince of the Apostles. You have ably confirmed his opinion by the plan which you have presented to us. Earnestly desiring to complete the church promptly and with the greatest magnificence, we appoint you superintendent of the work, and award you three hundred gold crowns, payable annually by the superintendents of the funds reserved in our hands, and appropriated to the payment of the expenses of the Temple.

“We further command that, without delay, and even monthly if you desire it, they shall pay you on demand such sums as at such times shall be due. We further exhort you so to undertake and fulfil the duties of that employment as to show care for our esteem and for your honorable name. To that end you must, as a valiant young man, look well to the foundation of your reputation, so as to justify the hopes we have conceived of you, and our paternal good will. You must bear in mind the dignity and renown of that Temple, which has always been the greatest and holiest in the world, and also our devotion to the Prince of the Apostles.”

Raphael's plan was a Latin cross, with a dome at the intersection of the arms of the cross. The interior was to have three naves, each of the wings five chapels, each pillar a niche; the choir and the lateral galleries also had niches, each

over a hollowed base, supported by two pillars and twelve columns connected in four. The façade presented three principal entrances. The portico, raised by steps, rested on thirty-six columns, in three rows, so arranged that the inner and outer lines were always double.

The commencement of the building of Saint Peter's belongs to the reigns of Julius II and Leo X. This part of the pontifical history should not be divided. We have not, however, told all the zeal of the popes, but must note especially that of Paul V, Borghese, whose name is still inscribed on the façade of the finest temple ever erected by man.

There is another point of history that belongs to our account of the services of Julius II and Leo X to the arts. We cannot speak of all the great masters who illustrated these two reigns, so rich in all the most perfect creations of human art and science. We must leave Raphael. We shall not yet part with Michelangelo, whom we shall meet again, in front of his Moses, the finest sculpture of the tomb of Julius.

These two men deserve to be thus introduced into the history of the two popes. Michelangelo deserved to be inspired by Julius II with terrible scenes, analogous to the stern authority which Julius II loved to defend. Raphael deserved the familiar confidence of Leo X—amiable, beneficent, great, and capable of recognizing greatness in others.

Raphael, after death (1520), according to the custom of the time and country, was exposed in his own house, in the studio, where still stood on the frame the picture of the "Transfiguration," finished in some parts, but lacking in others the last finishing touches. His death drew tears from Leo X, who, in truth, had intended to give a cardinal's hat to Raphael; and in doing so, he it remarked, the pope would have contravened no custom and infringed upon no pontifical right.

In giving the hat the pope would have conferred a distinction, and secured to the artist the title and the revenue of a cardinal, while dispensing him from all ecclesiastical duties. Leo thought art as deserving of honor as science. More than twenty scholars were invested with the purple; and it is well known that obscure birth, even, formed no obstacle to such favors.

The grief of a whole brilliant court, that mourning which interrupted all business, those tears of an entire generation of the intellectual and the learned, had in some sort mitigated the calamities of the times. Rome, while bewailing her great man, still combated that monk who was still for the gauntlet, for the bare temples, for war, and for the innumerable evils that accompany war. At length spiritual labors, momentarily interrupted, resumed their conservative influence.

Serious affairs in the East continued to interest the Holy See. An endeavor was made to establish a correspondence with Selim I, Emperor of Constantinople, who had just conquered Jerusalem.

At this period it was known that the establishment of the Spaniards in America had ceased to prosper; there was an insurrection of the Indians, in consequence of an outrage that a Spanish officer had committed upon the wife of the cacique Don Henri, who had embraced Christianity.

That cacique, having vainly demanded justice, retired with his people to the mountains of Beoruko, whence for fourteen years he made war on the Spaniards. Peace was restored in 1533, by the celebrated Las Casas, who was then in Saint Domingo, and of whom we shall hereafter have further occasion to speak.

In 1520 Leo canonized Saint Casimir, one of the thirteen children of Casimir IV, King of Poland. He also beatified

Elizabeth, Queen of Portugal, and Margaret of Cortona, who was afterwards canonized by Urban VIII.

Charles V, having become emperor in spite of Francis I, asked permission to retain the kingdom of Spain as well as the empire, which Leo granted.

France took offence, the accumulation of the two powers being a novelty prohibited by the ancient constitutions.

War ensued. The pope recovered Parma and Piacenza, and helped to drive the French from Milan. What excuses Leo in this matter, though he perhaps would have done better to remain at peace with all, is the fact that Charles V promised to put down Luther; and Charles certainly had more power than Francis in the matter. Festivals had been ordered at Rome, but, in the midst of the preparations, the pope, although only sixty-six, sank under an attack of apoplexy, December 1, 1521, after reigning eight years, eight months, and twenty days. He was interred at the Vatican, in a sarcophagus but little worthy of him. Under Paul III he was removed to the choir of La Minerva, the church of the Dominicans, where a tomb was raised for him beside that of Clement VII, who, like himself, was of the Medici family.

Leo was tall and well formed, excepting that his head was somewhat disproportionately large. He loved music, conversation, and the chase. In church he was of grave and serious appearance; and for impressive dignity in the sacred functions and sovereign majesty of bearing, he surpassed some of his predecessors. His morals were exemplary. It was his custom after dinner or supper to distribute among those present, whom he thought deserving, little rolls of paper full of gold crowns. Seeing one day among those who served him at table a man whom he knew to be deserving, he determined to give him twenty-five crowns when he presented the basin for the pontiff to wash his hands. The man,

not imagining the pope's kind intention, retired before the repast was over. The pope then said to himself: "This poor man's ill luck must not intercept our liberality." He therefore resolved to double the sum and to give the man fifty crowns when he saw him again. On the following day the servant again attended, but again left the room before the end of the repast. Still preserving the same intention, the pope placed twice twenty-five crowns for each of the two days. The man did not appear, but Leo would not yield, and at length, at twenty-five crowns for each day of the man's absence, the sum amounted to three hundred. Leo said to himself again: "Why, how unfortunate it is that this servant cannot get this small assistance!"

At length the servant appeared. Leo did not wait till the end of the repast, but called the man to him. "Friend, we do not wish you to compel us to give you the papacy; here, take this money, which by five-and-twenties has risen to three hundred. It is, however, a usury that we have made for your benefit; take it, and begone quickly, or we shall be ruined!"

Leo X instituted an order of four hundred knights, who each received from the alum-duties an income of a hundred crowns. He made sixty new chamberlains, restored the royal academy, and repaired the baptistery of Constantine.

William Roscoe, an English historian, who was a Protestant, writes:

"The pontificate of Leo X is celebrated in the Roman annals as one of their happiest epochs. When he took the chair of Saint Peter the misfortunes of Italy were at their worst, that country having been the theatre of a war in which all its governments had been engaged, and also, and still worse, having been devastated by the French, the Swiss, and the Spaniards. A council that had been established at Pisa, by the authority of the King of France, traversed all the mea-

tures, and sometimes even affected to deny the authority of the Holy See; and, independently of all those calamities, Italy was constantly tormented by fear of the Turks, who every now and then threatened a descent upon her shores. Leo's moderation and prudence surmounted the difficulties which presented themselves to him, and during his entire pontificate the territories of the Church enjoyed greater tranquillity than any other State in Italy. Amidst the fierce quarrels that raged between the two powerful monarchs, Charles V and Francis I, he distinguished himself by his vigilance, his wisdom, and his able policy."

The Holy See remained vacant one month and seven days.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE POPES

No.	Name	Year of Accession	Page
196	Blessed Benedict XI	1303	3
197	Clement V	1305	6
198	John XXII	1316	19
199	Benedict XII	1334	30
200	Clement VI	1342	34
201	Innocent VI	1352	45
202	Urban V	1362	52
203	Gregory XI	1370	61
204	Urban VI	1378	72
205	Boniface IX	1389	85
206	Innocent VII	1404	93
207	Gregory XII	1406	97
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209	John XXIII	1410	111
210	Martin V	1417	119
211	Eugene IV	1431	129
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213	Calixtus III	1455	148
214	Pius II	1458	152
215	Paul II	1464	166
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